MAHARASHTRA UNDER THE COMPANY

1818 - 1858

(A Study of Political Transformation)

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Abbreviations

B.A.	-	Bombay Archives
J.D.	-	Judicial Department.
N.A.	-	National Archives of India.
P.D.D.	-	Political Department Diary.
R.D.	-	Revenue Department.

Chapter I

Introduction

The early phase of British rule in Mahārāshtra needed a fresh study from the point of view of socio-political transformation of the people of Mahārāshtra in a changing epoch of mid-nineteenth century. The work that is presented now is an attempt to bridge the gap in historical research relating to the early phase of the process of political modernisation that Mahārāshtra experienced as a result of British conquest.

The present study is confined to the Marathi speaking region of western India that the British had conquered from the Peshwa and which was directly administered by the Government of East India Company during the years 1818 and 1858. This has resulted in restricting the study to what is known as western Mahārāshtra comprising the Marathi speaking districts of the political division then called the Bombay Presidency.

The conquest of Mahārāshtra by the East India Company marked a beginning of a new epoch in India history. The East India Company represented a nation in possession of the technique, organisation and energy which made the Britain a world power. The conquered Marathas on the other hand were politically divided, culturally stagnating and socially vulnerable to foreign conquest. However, the encounter that took place between the British rulers and the conquered Marathas in the mid-nineteenth century, made possible the opening of a new path of social development for the people of Mahārāshtra.

While the opportunity afforded by the advent of British rule was not missed by the farsighted among the Marathas the overwhelming popular feeling in the Maratha land during this period emanated from a deepgoing sense of the loss of political freedom. This fact alone marked off Mahārāshtra from other regions in India conquered by the British. This fact also largely shaped the outcome of the Anglo-Maratha encounter in the period under review. The present study attempts to narrate and analyse some of the interesting episodes and phases of this encounter.

Elphinstone's attempts to pacify and conciliate the Maratha people, reorganisation of the rural economy

of Mahārāshtra, vicissitudes of British attitude towards the Maratha princely states and the technological changes in the methods of communication that occurred as a result of British rule, were such issues that had a bearing on the evolution of public life and institutions in Mahārāshtra during this period. The present work tries to approach a critical evaluation of these British measures from the point of view of emergence of popular institutions and movements in Mahārāshtra.

The present study also gives an account of the socio-cultural and psycho-intellectual shifts that took place in the Maratha mind as a result of the process of modernisation of the Maratha secular life in early nineteenth century. European methods of instruction and European style of institutions of higher learning, publication of newspapers and periodicals and such other technological changes in the methods of mass-communication had made the newly created Maratha intelligentsia conversant with European thought and institutions. The set of new values, attitudes, beliefs and ideas along with the entire conceptual baggage of eighteenth century European enlightenment was brought to Bombay and Poona by the western style educational institutions. The tension that emerged between modernity and tradition as a result of this western intrusion, left a mark on the ideological bearings of the

new Maratha intelligentsia. The present study deals with the multi-level confrontation between the forces of modernity and tradition as evinced in the intellectual debate in Mahārāshtra during this period.

Emergence of cultural and economic nationalism was a new feature of Maratha political ideology in this period. The writings of Bal Shāstri Jāmbhekar, Bhau Mahājan, Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth and Vishnubuvā Brahmachāri articulated the new cultural bearings of the Maratha intellect. A historical evaluation of the new intellectual ferment as represented in the writings of these Maratha men of letters, has been attempted in the present work, as a part of the study of the process of modernisation that Mahārāshtra underwent as a result of British contact.

The multilingual and multireligious business community of Bombay and the Maratha intelligentsia of Bombay and Poona worked for the political awakening in this period. The western educated Maratha intelligentsia was numerically very insignificant but historically it displayed potentialities that far exceeded its numerical strength. The birth of new social and political institutions like the Paramahansa Sabhā and Bombay Association indicated the intellectual and political initiative of the Maratha intelligentsia. The story of the formation of the Bombay

Association and the Deccan Association has been narrated in the ensuing pages in the context of multi-dimensional awakening of the Maratha middle class.

The backdrop for the new awakening and political movement was provided by the turbulent episodes of armed rebellions in the rural areas of Mahārāshtra. The primitive rebels of Sahyadri and Sātapuda had engaged the energies and resources of the British administrative apparatus over the entire period under review. The present work attempts a documented narration of the activities of Maratha insurgents and also tries to analyse the socio-political motivations involved in these turbulent episodes. The commonly-held opinion that not a dog barked in Mahārāshtra during the days of sepoy mutiny of 1857, does not stand the scrutiny of facts made known in the present work. An attempt has been made in the ensuing pages to restore a historically true picture of the conditions prevailing in Mahārāshtra during the uprising of 1857.

The element of historical material that has been used in the present study belongs mainly to the category of primary source material. The secondary sources have also been used where necessary.

Official and non-official documents, papers, journals deposited in the state archives of Poona, Bombay and Delhi have been extensively used in the present study. The Deccan Commissioner's Files in the Poona Alienation Office contain valuable material for the story of early phase of British rule in Mahārāshtra. The Diaries of Political, Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Bombay Government deposited in the Mahārāshtra State Archives, Bombay, contain a wealth of source material that abounds in quantity as well as significance for research workers. The Files of the Foreign Department in the National Archives, New Delhi, contain valuable material and documents relating to socio-political scene of mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra Collection of Deccan College, Poona, also possesses many documents and papers relating to this period. These archival sources have been extensively used in the present study.

The Datye Collection of Muktadwar Granthalaya, Poona, Collection of the Mumbai Grantha Sangrahalaya, Bombay, Collection of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay, Collection of Jayakar Granthālaya, Poona, and Collection of Bhārat Itihās Samshodhan Mandal, Poona, are some of the most renowned collections of relevant contemporary Marathi and English literature relating to the period under review. The contemporary source material as

embodied in this literature has been fruitfully used.

As the ensuing pages will show, a thorough use of the archival material that had escaped the attention of the earlier researchers, has been made in the present work. The archival material has also greatly helped to check up and rectify the import of the published memoirs, journals, newspapers and periodicals of this period. The picture that emerges out of documented narration in the present study, therefore, remains close to the factual relevance and essence emanating from the primary source material.

Chapter II

Anglo - Maratha Confrontation

The people of Mahārāshtra, better known as Marathas are marked off from other peoples of India in a distinct historical and cultural tradition. The land of the Maratha people is known from ancient times as Mahārāshtra which literally means the great nation. Historically the name Mahārāshtra originated from a people known as Maharattas who conttituted the basic element in the formation of the Maratha nationality. The formation of a Maratha nationality within the four corners of Indian nationhood is a unique historical phenomenon of Indian history. The Marathas as a people are proud of their distinct historical legacy, though they are aware of Mahārāshtra's inseperable ties with the rest of Indian people. Mahārāshtra occupies a midpart of the Indian peninsula. Its geographical location has rendered it a uñique position for receiving and assimilating influences from the Northern as well as Southern parts of Indian sub-continent. The Maratha Power which emerged in the 17th century played a distingusihed role in Indian history. They destroyed the supremacy of

the Mughals in the 18th Century and operated as the most powerful factor in Indian politics over a long period; and by resisting the thrusts of the Western colonial powers they delayed the ascendancy of the British imperial authority in India.

Marathas leapt into historical prominence with the founding of tha Maratha state by Shivājī, in the later half of the seventeenth century. In the third decade of the seventeenth century the Maretha name was unknown to the world outside, three decades later, it became a terror to the rulers of the land. Balājī Vishwanāth entered Delhi in the train of Syed Hussain Ali; and his grandsons became arbiters of the fate of the Mughal empire. The rapid expansion of their empire was once arrested by the defeat of Panipat but the Marathas quickly recovered from the shock and Mahādajī Shinde founded a new empire in Hindusthan. In 1794 they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nizam at Kharḍā. And hardly eight years elapsed before the Peshwa became a feudatory of the British government.[1]

The rise of the Maratha power coincided with the emergence of a Maratha nationality in the seventeenth century. Despite the fact that Maratha speaking people were living under diverse administrative and geographical units, a kind of cultural unity was already achieved before Shivaji commenced his political activities. The distribution

of Maratha Kunbis and Maratha Brahmins over wide areas of the Deccan, an uniform speech pattern influenced by a single standard literary language had created conditions for building up an identical psychological make up of the people in the Maratha portions of the Deccan. Assumption of political power in the name of an emerging nationality provided advantages which were not lost sight of by Shivājī. It may be noted that unification of the Marathas for a political cause is the theme of a well-known poem of Rāmdās. The Mughal penetration in the Deccan was also shrewdly utilised by Shivājī. At times he collaborated with the Mughals against Bijapur and occasionally he spoke of building a united resistance of the Deccanese against the Mughals.

None of Shivāji's successors inherited his genius. But a variety of circumstances helped the Marathas to spread themselves by violent enchroachments over Hindusthan. The mid-eighteenth century saw the rise of the Peshwa to the supreme position in the Maratha power structure. After Shahu's death the Peshwa assumed the supreme position in the Maratha confederacy. Raja of Satara was a nominal head of this confederacy; but he was living a pensioned life in the fort of Satara. The Maratha confederacy had the great binding force of common national origin but its

foundation was rent by internal jealousies. The Gaikwāds, Bhonsles, Shindes, Holkars, Pawārs and other members of the Maratha confederacy had almost become independent in the later period.

The hereditary Maratha officers-the deshmukhs and deshpandes - functioned as powerful elements in the Maratha polity, despite Shivāji's attempts to curb their power. Under the Peshwas leading officers of state became practically hereditary. The lands they had held before as mokasa and saranjam became their hereditary possessions, and began to be termed jagirs. The Maratha political system required the Maratha chiefs to raise their own troops and they were paid by the assignment of mokasa and saranjam out of the Maratha claims from the Mughal territories.[2]

Social Roots of the Maratha Institutions

The mass of the population of Mahārāshtra belonged to the Hindu-fold. The well known division of the Hindu social order prevailed in Mahārāshtra also. The Brahmins, the high caste Marathas, Kunbis and Mahars and the communities of Bhil, Koli, Ramoshi and such other tribal groups constituted the Hindu social order. Bene-Israels,

Parsis, Marwaris, Muslims and Gujarathi Bunnias and such other regional and religious minorities had been settling in Mahārāshtra throughout the period. The institutions of joint family, caste and village community were the important features of the social structure of Mahārāshtra. It was predominantly a rural society. Common property, common rituals and common meals were the main aspects of the joint family. Families which used to intermarry formed the caste group. Endogamy was the main feature of the caste. Along with the joint family and the caste, the institution of Gota, which was an administrative-cum-social body of the village community was an important institution of the Maratha social life.[3]

The Maratha village was a close-knit unit. Those who held land either as hereditary officers or peasant proprietors formed a major section of the population. The class of hereditory officers, holding land directly from the state and enjoying certain rights and perquisites were known, as Desak, Deshmukh, Desāi, Deshpānde, Kulkanrī, Pātil, Chaugula, Sete, Mahajan etc. formed the group of village hereditary officers known as desakas. The desakas who performed varous administrative duties did not pay land revenue. They were called watandars. Amongst the Marathas the term watan denoted a rent free land held in hereditary and perpetual occupation.[4] The villagers

who owned the land and paid the land revenue were called mirasdars. Miras was an Arabic term signifying hereditary ownership of land. An earlier designation of this class was thalkari. A section of the village population consisted of the tenants who had no land of their own. Lastly, there were balutedars who rendered various services to the villagers and the village and were rewarded for these services with annual payments of agricultural produce called baluta. Among these balutedars may be counted washerman, blacksmith, barber, potter, mahar, mang, goldsmith, carpenter, cobbler, oil manufacturer, etc. Joshī, Gurav and Mulāni also belonged to this class of balutedars who served the religious needs of the villagers. Thus the watandars, mirasdars, upris and the balutedars together made a Maratha village.[5]

Speaking about the authority of the Brahmins in the Maratha society Grant Duff wrote: "Those Brahmins who strictly follow the tenets of their faith, and devote their lives to the study of what Hindus conceive the divine ordinances, are held in great esteem; but otherwise in the Maratha country, there is no veneration for the Brahmin character.[6] With regard to religion, the bulk of the population was Hindu. Medieval Hindu religion with the its emphasis on Bhakti, theory of Karma, and belief in transmigration of soul had a sway over the popular mind.

The cult of Vithal or the Warakari cult was the most widespread among the Marathas. Like all other Indians of medieval times Marathas, even the most intelligent of them were extremely superstitious and placed great reliance on astrology, prodigies; and nothing of magic, witchcraft or supernatural agency was too gross for the credulity of the masses.[7] All Maratha learning, except simple reading, writing and arithmetic; was confined to those Brahmins who studied the Sanskrit literature. Among the Brahmins only a small proportion understood the Sanskrit language and literature.[8]

Ideological Bearings of Maratha Politics

Whether as a body of false consciousness[9] of collective mind or as a totality of patterns of cognitive and moral beliefs, the impact of the ideology on the behaviour pattern of the people has been rated high by all historians.

That the Marathas of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries felt the bonds of language, territorial residence, traditions, habits, historical memories, and an element of mutual affection was conceded by Elphinstone who wrote: "Though the Marathas had never appeared in history as a nation they had a strongly marked character, as if they had always formed a united commonwealth.[9]

The Brahmins and the Maratha watandars who dominated the secular life of the Mahārāshtra, also shaped its political ideology. The dominating sentiment of the Bhakti cult was the reassertion of the values ofhumanism, universal brotherhood and submission to 'god'. The secular aspirations of the rising Maratha nobility could not therefore be expressed by the saint poets. The resurgence of political mind of the Maratha nobles found expression in the writings of a poet who was marked out very distinctly from the rest of the Marathi saint poets. Rāmadās, a deshastha Brahmin from Godavari valley of theDeccan, who had renounced the worldly life at an early age, led a spiritual movement which stood for active, aggressive and healthy acquittal of man's worldly duties as defined by ancient Hindu scriptures. Rāmadās was the leader of the cult of Ram Bhakti in Mahārāshtra. Of all the religious leaders of his time, Rāmadās found the political activities of Shivājī conducive to the fulfilment of his dreams. In number of poems, Ramadas lauded the activities of Shivaji. In one of his early poems Rāmadās had invoked the blessings of the goddess Bhavani for the prosperity of Shivaji's cause.[10] In another poem Rāmadās expressed his heartfelt joy over the elimination of Muslim influence from the deccan.[11] His wellknown exhortation to all the Marathas to forge unity and spread the Mahārāshtradharma echoed the

feelings of the forwardlooking and aspiring Brahmins and Maratha nobles of his day.

The political ideas of the Marathas in the late seventeenth century were best expressed by Shivājī himself in his correspondence with his contemporaries. Shivājī's instructions to his army officers show how he had warned them against acting in any way which would make them look worse than the Mughals. Shivājī sought to build up an image for himself as an emancipator and liberator of the peasants. His early royal seal speaks of his resolve to do good for the people. Unique quality of Shivājī's political behaviour was his effort to keep religion out of politics. In his letter to Aurangzeb, Shivājī had extolled the virtues of Akbar for having treated all religions with equal respect.[12]

During the supremacy of the Peshwas, Maratha political mind was gravitated towards the North Indian affairs. Maratha journey to Delhi under Balājī Vishwanāth had produced far reaching consequences. The Maratha involvement in North India deeply coloured their political ambitions and ideas. Bājirāo who had made a thrust into the outlying suburb of Delhi and then suddenly withdrew, wrote back to his younger brother: "Delhi is a time honoured place. There

is no point in destroying the emperor. Any humiliation of the Emperor at our hands at this moment would only harm [illegible] our political line."[13] Instead of seizing the throne of Delhi, control over the Delhi emperor became the long-standing political objective of the Marathas all through the eighteenth century.

By getting themselves involved in the affairs of imperial politics, Marathas soon began to think in terms of defending the frontiers of the Mughal empire. Raghunāthrāo in a letter to Nānāsāheb Peshwa wrote: "Kabul and Kandhar[a], the provinces beyond Attock were included in the Indian empire from the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Why should we now allow the foreigners to lay claim to them?"[14]

The most candid and nakedly frank statement of the Maratha political objective is contained in a letter written by Nānāsaheb Peshwa to Nānā Purandare. In an allegorical style the Peshwa wrote: "The late Peshwa caused the flow of gold to run from north to south for over a period of twenty four years.... Only a part of the thirst was quenched. Raghuji Fatesing also caused the river of gold to flow from the south; but it was absorbed and dried up (before it reached Poona). For over a long time the gold river from south ceased. By god's grace the flow of the river of wealth this year was appreciable. But the

region beyond Poona is barren, I am afraid the flow might dry before it reaches Poona. I wish the rivers of gold from North and South should bring their flooded water in a combined tide and deposit the wealth at Poona; then alone our toils and efforts will be rightly rewarded."[15]

That the issue of religious revival of Hinduism was close to the heart of some of the Maratha statesmen is amply suggested in Govindrāo Kāle's letter to Nānā Phadnis on the occasion of Mahādajī Shinde's visit to Poona with the imperial farmans. Govindrāo Kāle wrote: "The event sent a wave of thrill over our bodies, and caused great gratification. In those good old days late Shivājī ushered in a new age and defended the religion. In a small corner he protected the religion. He was followed by Nānāsāheb and Bhausāheb who dazzled the political sky and remained unrivalled in matters of heroism. And now by the merit of the ruling Peshwa and by virtue of intellect and sword of Pātilbāwa, great strides have been made.... Not the territorial conquest alone, but, protection of the Hindu scriptures, establishment of the religion, protection of the Brahmins and cows, seizure of sovereignty and trumpets of glory are some of our notable achievements."[16]

Broadly speaking the concept of revival of Hindu feudal political tradition constituted the main political idea of the Marathas. Plundering campaigns for the jagirdari rights of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi were conducted by the Maratha state for the fulfilment of this ideal. Like all medieval feudal orders, Maratha political structure was based on the principle of aggrandisement in which plunder constituted an important element. Maratha political structure and ideology suffered from this historical weakness. It resulted in alienation of the Marathas from other major Indian nationalities; a fact which was greatly used by the British intruders. History punished the Marathas for their failure to evolve a better sociopolitical system and ideology than the one they had during the pre-British days.

Secular streak in Maratha political tradition

The issue of Hindu revival, though close to Maratha heart from Shivāji to Bājirāo II, had never degenerated into a narrow fanatical creed in Maratha political tradition. The rise of saint poets and Bhakti cult in no way represented a popular reaction against Islamic rule in Mahārāshtra. The Bhakti movement was more a protest against Hindu orthodoxy than a challenge to Islam. The Bhakti cult preached merely a spiritual and social readjustment within

the framework of Hindu Social order. The ethos of Bhakti cult had, however, exercised a conditioning effect on the political behaviour of the Marathas.

The religious policies of the predecessors of the Marathas had ranged from the tolerance and synchretism of Akbar to the bigotry and fanaticism of Aurangzeb. The Marathas followed a policy of broad religious tolerance and equality of treatment for all subjects. Though Maratha state dealt with people in legal matters according to caste status the Maratha political tradition was closer to modern concept of sacularism. Religious liberty and common citizenship are two of the essential elements of secularism. The Maratha ideal of statehood had incorporated these two components of secularism. The third component of secularism, the institutional seperation of religion and state did not appear in the Maratha political structure.

Coexistence of various communities and creeds had been a long standing feature of the social life in medieval Deccan. Religious tolerance, though not a very strong point with the Muslim rulers, had been practised to a considerable degree by the Bahamani rulers in the Deccan. The Marathas had inherited this tradition of religious tolerance from their predecessors. The geopolitical

compulsions also impelled the Marathas to continue the tradition of religious tolerance and accommodation.

Genesis of The Company

The men who ruled Mahārāshtra during the period under review were the servants of the East India Company. Originally the East India Company was an enterprise of the merchant capital in England. With the growth of industrial revolution the power in England had passed into the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie. The East India Company thereafter became a tool of the British industrial capital for furthering its aims in India. This particular social origin, however, did not deprive the Company of a relative independent role in Indian political affairs. The Company enjoyed an amount of independence as an autonomous self-developing political mechanism in Indian politics in the 18th and 19th centuries.

British colonial system is older than British capitalism. Even before the era of capitalism the feudal monarchy pursued its wars of territorial conquest in Ireland and Wales.[17] The East India Company became the most powerful instrument of British colonial aspirations firstly under the aegis of the British merchant capital and then through the operations of the industrial capital in India.

In the 16th century, the political and economic activity at Europe was guided by the Mercantalist Philosophy, which believed in strengthening the state through more exports and less imports, or the acquisition of bullion through trade. The East India Company was a product of Mercantalism. It was originally founded to capture the trade of the East, but generally flag follows the trade, and the East India Company was no exception to it.

It was during the period of early colonial expansion that the East India Company was born. It was a period of the 'Merchant Adventurers, of freebooting and plundering expeditions and of the slave trade. The East India Company was a remarkable enterprise of the merchant capital in England. Merchant capital was the prime mover of the new civilization in England. It was the growing power of the merchant capital that transformed England, which once had a little standing among the kingdoms of the world, into a foremost political and economic power by the end of the eighteenth century. Not merely the private enterprise, courage and audacity of the Britains but the growth of the 'new civilization' which brought in its fold swift increase in wealth and an impressive expansion of trade, led to the spectacular growth of British power overseas.

The English began their career in India when the first English traders arrived on India's western sea coast during the reign of Elizabeth. They wooed the Moghul court for permits to build the warehouses. For the first one hundred and fifty years the East India Company had no other politics than the politics of warehouses, bazars, emporia and commerce. But in the early 18th century the traders became armed traders who started employing soldiers to defend their settlements and soon began to dabble in the game of securing spheres of influence in the various warring courts of India. The traders organised in a company soon found themselves at the head of armed bands staking for political power.

The constitutional vicissitudes of the East India Company are tangled in the changing fortunes of British capital in England and India. The story began with the grant of a charter by Queen Elizabeth to the Court of the East India Company. The career of the Company came to an end with the transference of British India to the Crown in 1858. In the intervening period many stages marked the growth of the Company from a commercial concern to a political enterprise.

Company And The Marathas

Though the English merchants set their first business house in Western India at Surat in 1601, they could not widen their political base in Western India till late 18th century because of the vigorous existence of the Maratha State. But gradually the East India Company pushed its commercial concern in western India in close understanding with the powers in the Deccan. Company's affairs were managed by a Governor and council residing at Surat the jurisdiction of which was known as Presidency of Surat.

In 1661 the island of Bombay was ceded to the king of England by the king of Portugal as a dowry for Catharine on her marriage with Charles II. In 1676 the English Crown granted to the East India Company authority to establish a mint at Bombay. In 1683 Bombay was made the seat of Presidency and it became Company's principal station in the East Indies. In the same year Captain Keigwin, the commander of the East India Company's military forces in the island, revolted, and repudiating Company's authority proclaimed that of the Crown. Next year the mandate of the Crown arrived and the island was restored to the Company.[15]

Despite occasional eruptions of irritating incidents, the Company maintained commercial relations with the Maratha state. In July 1739 the Company signed a commercial treaty with the Peshwa. Another trade agreement was concluded in 1756 between the two parties. The third and the fourth commercial treaties were signed in the years 1761 and 1782 consecutively.[19]

The extension of the dominions of the East India Company in the Maratha countries was long very slow, being almost confined to Bankot and fort Victoria, acquired in 1756 from the Marathas in exchange of a post of Gherriah near the island of Bombay.[20]

The British Government had concluded its general treaties with the Marathas through the authority of the Peshwa. It was evident that the acknowledged authority of the Peshwa furnished the most secure basis for mutual relations. But with the weakening of the central authority of the Poona government, Company resorted to conclude treaties with the Maratha chieftains independently of the Peshwa and even without the sanction or concurrence.[21] The Company found it prudent to employ every endeavour to effect such an arrangement as should preclude the union of the Maratha States under any circumstance. It had

always been a principal object of the British Government to prevent the sovereign power of the Maratha state or the power of any great branch of the Maratha empire, from passing into the hands of France. Hence the Company strove to build up working relations with the Peshwa for a long time.[22]

In 1774 taking advantage of disputes among the Marathas the Company captured the islands of Salsette and Karanja. Company's involvement with the Marathas on behalf of Raghunathrao Peshwa led to a discomforting situation and Purandar treaty proved a humiliation for the Bombay Government. In 1777 the Company was once more involved in an armed clash with the Peshwa. The disasterous expedition in Bor Ghat culminating in the Wadgāon agreement (1777) damaged the British prestige in western India. The Wadgāon agreement was repudiated by the Company and hostilities were resumed. Colonel Goddard came to the rescue of the Bombay Government. He prosecuted the war with greater determination and doggedness. But the military campaigns did not lead to any decisive results and both the parties concluded at Salbai in 1782 an agreement humaliating to the British who had to surrender Raghunāthrāo and Vassai to the Marathas.[23]

Company's chance came when civil war broke out between Shinde and Holkar. When Holkar raided the city of Poona, Peshwa Bājirāo fled to Vassai and signed a treaty with the Company that bound him to receive and the East India company to furnish a permanent subsidiary force. In 1812 the island and harbour of Mālwan were obtained by treaty from the Raja of Kolhāpur, and in the same year the fort of Vengurla was added to the Company's territories.[24]

In 1817 the general confederacy of the Maratha states led by the Peshwa was defeated in the engagement at Kirki and in 1818 at Ashti. Bājirāo was deposed and pensioned and the greater part of his dominions was incorporated with the presidency of Bombay. The territory acquired by the Company on that event comprised the collectorates of Thāna, Ratnāgirī, Khāndesh, Sātāra, southern Maratha jagirs, Belgāo and Dhārwar, containing as area of 47, 214 square miles; having a population at 6121947.[25]

British Resident And The Poona Court

Establishment of British Residency in Poona in 1736 was frought with consequences for the fate of Maratha independence. The Poona court had an experience with a British envoy when the British agent Thomas Mostyn came to Poona in 1767 on a diplomatic mission. Mostyn repeated

his visit to Poona in 1772 and continued to stay in Poona for full two years. Ever since the last days of Peshwa Madhavrao I, Mostyn was keeping a watchful eye on the affairs of the Peshwa court. During his stay in Poona Mostyn kept on reporting to the Bombay council and urged his countrymen to profit by the difficulties of the Maratha government. In 1773 Mostyn advised his mentors in Bombay to take advantage of the distracted conditions of the Poona court and seize the Maratha territories in the vicinity of Bombay.[26] It was Mostyn to whom Raghunāthrāo sent his agents in October 1774 to negotiate terms for armed help.[27] It was Mostyn again who seduced Morobā Phadnīs and formed a secret project for conciliating Raghunāthrao and removing Nānā Phadnis from ministry by confining him to imprisonment.[28]

The appointment of Sir Charles Malet as the first British Resident at the Poona court was indicative of the growing British involvement in Maratha politics. It was Nānā Phadnis who initiated the move to have a permanent British envoy in the Poona court. Nānā was angered by the increased importance of Mahādajī Shinde in Maratha politics as a result of the Treaty of Salbye that had provided the appointment of a British Resident in Shinde court.[29]

Mahādaji had warned Nānā Phadnis about the nature of British diplomacy in Indian courts in 1784 in these

words: "My attempt in organising the Emperor's power and resources and my elevation to the highest post in his gift, have given extreme offence to the British. Brown at Delhi is freely bribing the imperial grandees to remove me from my situation. You must remember how trecherous these British are."[30]

Despite Mahadaji's warning Nānā had opened talks with the British government to have a seperate Resident at Poona for direct dealings, without the medium of Mahadaji. Nānā's move resulted in the appointment of Charles Malet as the first British Resident Ambassador at Poona.

Charles Malet had arrived in India at an early age and in 1770 he entered the service of the East India Company as a factor at Bombay. After filling various posts, he was in 1786 appointed Resident Minister at Poona.[31]

Malet entered office at Poona on 3rd March 1786 and left that office on 22nd February 1797. He lived in Poona for full eleven years and departed from that city after Bajirao II had been installed as Peshwa in the previous December.[32]

Malet's residency in Poona contributed largely towards the growth of British influence in western India. His intimate knowledge of Maratha affairs and mastery of Persian and Urdu helped him to get first hand information in all matters. His intelligence system was farflung and perfect. He was free to spend a large sum at his discretion, much of which was usefully employed in bribing the starving underlings of the Maratha court. He had a regularly paid European spy named Yvon in the Maratha army.[33]

During his residency Malet not only left a mark on the course of Maratha politics but also significantly contributed to the introduction of some western technological innovations to the society in Poona. Surgeons Crusoe and Findley, surveyor Reynolds, artists Wales and Daniel, Assistant Residents Unthoff, Hiern and Ward, are a few of the many Europeans that lived and influenced life in Poona during Malet's residency. Vaccination was first introduced in Poona during Malet's time. At Malet's suggestion the Peshwa established at his palace a school of drawing and painting.[34]

Sir Charles Malet was succeeded by Col.William Palmer. Palmer joined his post at Poona on 24th March 1798.

Col. Palmer's embassy at Poona extended over a period of three years and nine months.[35] So far as the Maratha court was concerned, Palmer had no crisis to deal with, his attention being mainly directed towards negotiating a subsidiary alliance with the Peshwa, who stoutly resisted the British overtures in this regard. To that extent the result of Palmer's embassy at Poona consisted only in the preparation of the ground for his successor Col. Barry Close who succeeded in imposing the British alliance on Bajirao.

Col. Barry Close was appointed to the Residency of Poona in 1801 and he held that post during the following ten years. Among his signal services to the Company was that of concluding with the Peshwa, the Treaty of Vassai, the ultimate consequence of which was the destruction of the Maratha power.

Col. Close in cooperation with other British agents compelled Bajirao after the treaty of Vassai to remain a mere helpless tool in the hands of his protectors, ready to, obey, though reluctantly their dictates and shorn of all power.[36] Col. Close to a great extent succeeded in preventing any anti-British combination of powers during the latter stages of Wellesley's conquests, by detaching

Peshwa Bajirao from active politics.

Elphinstone As Resident -

When the eighteenth century came to a close the Maratha confederacy was led by the Peshwa Bajirao. The Raja of Satara the formal head of the Maratha state was legally a vassal of the Mughal emperor who himself was a shadowy figure and wielded no real authority. The Raja of Satara was virtually a prisoner and pensioner of the Peshwa. The individual members of the Maratha confederacy had become independent jagirdars. 'The Maratha state that spread over more than half of Indian territory was not one united power directed and operated by one powerful will, but hundreds of big and tiny islands each following its own course.'[37]

The Maratha state had, however, succeeded in maintaining its independence against the British advances till 1802. By the Treaty of Vassai (1802) Bājirāo compromised the sovereignty of the Maratha state. The British Resident, thereafter, began to assume a commanding position inthe Poona court. In 1811 Mountstuart Elphinstone was appointed Resident at Poona. No better person could be found to exploit the strategic position which the Treaty of Vassai

had given to the British Resident in Poona court, than Elphinstone.

Mountstuart Elphinstone had served the East India Company as soldier and diplomat since 1796. In 1801 he had served as Assistant to the Resident in Poona. In the Anglo-Maratha war of 1803 he had figured as a political assistant under General Wellesley. He was given diplomatic assignments on more occasions thereafter Resident with the Raja of Berar, Resident with Shinde, envoy to Kabul, until in 1811 he was appointed Resident at Poona.[38]

As Resident, Elphinstone proved capable of taking full advantage of the precarious conditions of the Poona court. He intervened in the feuds between Bajirao and his feudatories and brought about a settlement at Pandharpur in 1812. Peshwa's dispute with Baroda gave a good excuse to the Resident to press for Trimbakjī Dengle's surrender to British custody. Trimbakjī, Dengle's escape and Bajirao's inconclusive military preparations helped Elphinstone to force a more humiliating treaty on Bajirao in June 1817. Bajirao had now to acknowledge complete dependence on British government in foreign affairs.

Taking advantage of British engagement against the Pendharis, Bajirao attacked the British Residency on

November 5, 1817; but without any success. Exasperated and exhausted, Bājirāo surrendered to the British on June 3, 1818 bringing the story of Maratha statehood to an end. Bājirāo was exiled from Mahārāshtra and was given a jagir at Bithur on the bank of Ganges. At Bithur, Bājirāo passed more than thirty years of his life. After 1818 his life ceased to have any political interest. He lived to the age of seventyseven and died on the 14th January 1851.[39]

Several factors led to the eclipse of Maratha power in the early nineteenth century. The failure of the Marathas as a people to continue the path of national regeneration as envisaged by Shivāji's political movement, Maratha incapacity to evolve a permanent line of unified political command, an utter neglect of science and lack of spirit of inquiry and such other negative factors of Maratha polity cost the Marathas their independence. Bājirāo who headed the Maratha state at this juncture failed to prevent the final act of destruction of Maratha power as he lacked qualities of leadership. As contrasted with the poor quality of Maratha leadership during this period, the calibre of four succeeding British residents in Poona - Malet, Palmer, close and Elphinstone - was marked out by brilliant achievements in diplomacy and statecraft.

The British residents in Poona did not spare any weapon to consolidate their position in Mahārāshtra. The game of bribery, intrigue and subversion was alternated with the play of outward submission, ostentation of friendship and flattery. But the intrigues and manipulative skill of the company's men alone could not build the British ascendancy in western India. Above everthing, the superior methods of organisation on the battlefield as well as in the chambers of diplomacy helped the company to defeat the Marathas and establish its supremacy in the Indian subcontinent.

Mahārāshtra Under Company - A Short Statistical Account

The population was principally Marathi speaking in the newly conquered territories. It consisted chiefly of cultivators. Tribals belonging to Ramōshi, Bhil and Kolī clans also lived in the outskirts of the towns and in the mountain ranges. The important cities included Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholāpur, and Nāsik. In the city of Bombay besides large Hindu population of multilingual character, Muslims, Parsis, Jews and Christians also constituted important sections of the inhabitants.

The district wise distribution of the population [illegible] tabled thus: Bombay: 566, 119. Thāna or North Kokan:

315, 349. Ahmednagar including the subcollectorate of Nāsik : 995, 535, Poona: 666, 006 Sholāpur: 675, 115 Ratnāgiri or South Kokan; 665, 233. Sātāra: 1005, 771. Kolaba territory : 53, 721. Khāndesh: 773, 112. Maratha Native States: Kolhāpur: 500,000 Sāwantwadi: 120,000: Maratha Jagirdars of South Maharashtra: 419, 025.[40]

The Government was vested in the Governor and three Councillors, styled "the Governor in Council of Bombay", subject however, to the "superintendence, direction and control" of the Governor General of India in Council.[41] An armed maritime force was maintained in the Bombay presidency. The military force consisted of a regiment of artillery, two regiments of European infantry, twenty-nine regiments of native infantry and a marine battalion, affording an aggregate of something more than 34,000 regular troops. (November 1851). There were besides, a regiment of Poona irregular horse, Khandesh Bheel Corps, Kolhapur Local Corps, Sawantwadi Local Corps, Ratnagiri Rangers, and some battalions in Gujerat; furnishing an aggregate of nearly 18000 men, thus the whole constituting a standing force of nearly 52,000. The forces of the Crown in the Bombay presidency were something above 6,000, making a grand total of military force in the East India Company's service in Bombay presidency exclusive of 3,711 Madras troops then serving within it, of more than 59,000 men.[42]

As regards the quality of the armed forces of the Company a contemporary account leaves us in no doubt about the care taken by the Company to man the leading organs of the army by competent personnel: "The Company's immense army is officered by young gentlemen of family, respectablity and good education... Placed in command of whatever number of Sepoys the exigency of the service may require, with merely the assistance of native officers, they are entirely left to the resources of their own minds. In the civil department, the Company's servants were generally replaced by youths of high connections, and very often of most finished education, which is carried on in oriental literature for a considerable time after their arrival in India.[43]

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Appendix

British View of The Marathas

The following sketch of a general trend of British opinion about the Maratha people and their history during this period provides an insight into the British mind in relation to the conquered Marathas.

As early as 1782 Capt. James Kerr wrote about the Maratha state and its role in his times: "The Mahartha State had its origin but about two hundred years age..., chance and fortune have contributed more to its rapid rise and progress than either the wisdom of its founder or the plans of his successors... they have already arrived at their highest pitch of power and... it will not be at all extraordinary if they are shortly seen losing their influence in India, as quickly as we know they have acquired it. Yet it can not be denied that however much their national character may favour the making of conquests, their political principles are not by any means calculated to preserve them.[43]

James Skinner who had watched the Marathas during many campaigns wrote about the character of the Maratha people: "In common with all other provinces of India, this

country was overrun by the Mahomedans, in their various invasions, but its chiefs and inhabitants cherished an unceasing spirit of hatred and aversion to their conquerors, which on all suitable occasions broke out into open revolt.[44]

Thomas Duer Broughton wrote in 1813: "The Marathas may be divided into two classes - Brahmins and the second comprehending almost all the inferior castes of the Hindus. The various castes of the second class are free from religious prejudices, as to eating, than any other Hindus.. Marathas are strangers to the comforts of domestic society. They seem to be equally so to the public attachment, quarrelling today with their chief, and always about their pay, tomorrow, with the utmost indifference, ranging themselves on the side of his adversary; and the next day returning to their former master, if he is fool enough to send a deputation, and make a few false promises to hire them back to their duty... A Maratha line of march exhibits a collection of the most grotesque objects and groups that can possibly be imagined: and at no time is the difference in the treatment of women between the Marathas and other natives of India, more strikingly displayed. Such, as can afford here, ride on horseback, without taking any pains to conceal their faces: they gallop about, and make their way through the throng; with as much boldness and

perseverence as the men.[45]

Mountstuart Elphinstone who finally conquered and subjugated the Marathas and who wanted to write a history of the Marathas, wrote about them: "Though the Marathas had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly marked a character as if they had always formed a united commonwealth. They are small sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajputs, they have none of their indolence, or their want of worldly wisdom. A Rajput warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Maratha thinks nothing but the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life; or even his interest, for a point of honour... The Rajput is the most worthy antagonist, the Maratha the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them or supply their place by stratagem, activity, and perseverence. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed.

The mere husbandmen are sober, frugal, and industrious, and, though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent or insincere."[46]

These extracts show the way British officers looked at the Marathas. These ideas and opinions certainly had consequences for the encounter that took place between the British rulers and the conquered people of Mahārāshtra during the period under review.

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41. During the period under review the post of governor was occupied by the following persons (1) M.Elphinstone 1819-1827 (2) Sir John Malcolm 1827-1830 (3) Lt.Gen. Thomas Sidney Beckwith 1830-1831 (4) John Romer (Offg.) 1831 (5) Earl of Clare 1831 - 1835 (6) Sir Robert Grant 1835-1838. (7) James Parish (Offg.) 1838-1839. (8) Sir J.Nivett Carnac 1839.1841 (9) George William Anderson (Offg.) 1841. (10) Sir George Arthur 1842-1846 (11) Lestock Robert Reid (Offg.) 1846. (12) George Russel Clerk 1847. (3) Viscount Falkland 1848-1853. (14) Lord Elphistone 1853-1858.

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Chapter III

Politics Of Elphinstone's Settlement

The British conquest of the Peshwa territories resulted in the appointment of Mountstuart Elphinstone as the sole Commissioner of the Deccan. Elphinstone was later on made Governor of Bombay where he resumed the work of reorganising the Deccan on an extensive scale. A contemporary portrait describes him as a gifted man endowed with superior qualities of head and heart. Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who visited Elphinstone at Bombay during the years 1824-1825, drew a pen portait of Mountstuart Elphinstone in these words: "Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for, and application to public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting characte While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the language of Hindusthan and Persia, but to preserve and

extend the acquaintance with the Greek and Latin Classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literaute of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy... His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal; and he is evidently attached to and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants."[1]

Elphinstone as a British Resident at the Peshwa Court at Poona had closely watched the Maratha affairs and had developed a close acquaintance with the character of the Maratha nation. He had always displayed caution while dealing with the Marathas. Before the official decision to fire the Peshwa was made, Elphinstone was not prepared for so strong a measure as annexation of the Peshwa territory He did not consider the forde at his disposal sufficient to carry it out against a prince who was the rallying point of the disaffected; and whose army was constantly recruited by the adventurers thrown out of employment by the success of British arms in Central India.[2]

Elphinstone's cautious approach to the British annexations in India is best examplified in his letter to Captain Close, wherein he remarked: "There is something

alarming in the great strides we are making towards universal dominion. We never before attempted the complete conquest of a country.... If we succeed, all is well; but if we fail, Scindia goes to war, Holkar rebels, the Sikhs and Goorkhas join in, Hyderabad bursts out. The flame spreads to our provinces; some fundamental point is touched, and our whole empire trembles down like a house of cards.... In the meantime I hope the day far distant, and I shall contribute my mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of this country."[3]

Elphinstone's nervousness at the time of undertaking a stupendous task of reorganising the political affairs of the conquered territories is revealed in his letter to Munro wherein he wrote: "I really feel some uneasiness at the prospect of undertaking alone a task on which so much is to depend."[4] Similar apprehension is contained in his letter dated July 2, 1818 to Malcolm: "It certainly is a bad plan to swallow more than we can digest... By destroying and diminishing so many states we have increased the sources of the disorders which it was our object to remove."[5]

Awareness of the transitory and ephemeral character of the British Rule in India was an integral part of

Elphinstone's attitude towards Indian question. In a letter to Sir James Mackintosh, Elphinstone wrote: "I am afraid the belief that our Indian Empire will not be long-lived is reason, and not prejudice. It is difficult to guess the death it may die.... A time of seperation must come; and it is for our interest to have an early seperation from a civilized people rather than a violent rupture with a barbarious nation, in which it is probable that all our settlers and even our commerce, would perish, along with all the institutions we had introduced into the country."[6] Elphinstone did not suffer from any misconception about the secret of the British supremacy. He wrote: "The numbers and physical force of the natives are evidently incalculably greater than ours. Our strength consists in the want of energy and the disunion of our enemies."[7]

It is a historical irony that a person who in his private correspondence censured the British policy of annexing Indian territories was called upon to consolidate the gains of British conquest in the Deccan. The irony is further dramatised by the fact that the author of these misgivings worked out some of the most effective measures for the consolidation of British imperial rule in Western India.

In Elphinstone's career the roles of scholar, solider, civil servant and administrator were all rolled into one. The East India Company was fortunate to have Elphinstone as executor of its policies in the early nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. It may be noted that East India Company displayed considerable laxity in allowing their officers choice of administrative measures as long as those measures did not prejudice and harm the long term interests and broad policies of the Company. The broad guidelines for the reorganisation of the Deccan were provided by the Governnor General who framed his despatches in tune with the wishes of his London bosses. Within this broad framework Elphinstone had a choice in working out his measures. Elphinstone effected his measures initially as Commissioner of the Deccan and later as Governor of Bombay Presidency. The Company gave him relative freedom to work out the details of the settlement of the conquered territories. The significance of this freedom and choice was heightened by the fact that Elphinstone was a man with distinct opinions and ideas.

A recent study has tried to trace Elphinstone's measures to his firm belief in morality rather than expedienc as the basis of politics.[8] The British morality, however,

has tended often to follow British expediency. British conquest of Mahārāshtra represented a forcible imposition of an alien rule effected through external violence on a slow moving decadent social order of the Marathas. And because in the early nineteenth century, society in Great Britain represented the most progressive and highly developed social order, it was inevitable that the morality of the British colonial rulers was far ahead of the political morality of the decadent feudal chiefs of Mahārāshtra.

There was lot of common sense and matter of fact approach in Elphinstones settlement of the Maratha affairs. As Elphinstone himself puts it: "My employment is very humble. It is to learn which system is in force and to preserve it unimpaired. This, I think, ought to be the great duty of a 'provisional government', and I think I have done a great service to this country if I can prevent making laws for it until they see whether it wants them."[9] Elphinstone's policies stemmed from his close acquaintance with Mahārāshtra and from his cautious approach to innovation and reform. Opposing the introduction of detailed Regulations of the Bengal or Bombay government into the Deccan, Elphinstone wrote". Many novelties must accompany every revolution, and if to these we voluntarily add an entire change in the laws, it is easy to conceive the odium and prejudices we

shall raise up against us."[10]

Occupation of Poona confronted Elphinstone with many intricate problems the chief of which related to the pacification of the people. Elphinstone and his team of administrators displayed utmost tact in handling the popular reaction to the British occupation. H.D. Robertson, Collector of Poona in a letter to Elphinstone wrote about the reaction of the Poona pupulation: "From the time when Bajirao's affairs took a decided turn for the worse, the better informed part of the inhabitants began to act on the belief that they would be permanently subject to the British Government... When the town was taken possession of, public opinion was strong against us. ... The versatility of their disposition however soon got the better of the insult we had offered to their understanding as politicians and after the first month they appeared to remain in a state of indifference regarding who should be their ruler, and only observed a cautious demeanor that might prevent us from conceiving them our enemies and Bajirao if he ever returned from accusing them of being our friends. But the inhabitants of the town were no sooner informed of our intention never to give up again to Bajirao then some of the most sensible and most respectable members of the community

visited me in the day time instead of as formerly during the night. It is perhaps unnecessary to acquaint you that your interview with the Brahmins of the city had a most happy effect. Their visit confirmed the minds of the most thinking portion of the people in looking up to our government as worthy of being popular and your liberality to them and to the Brahmins of Wai has convinced every one that we possess no prejudice of education or government."[11]

Elphinstone himself wrote about the reaction of the people: "The people here received our government with perfect submission, if not with pleasure. There is not the smallest popular feeling against us; partly no doubt from the hopelessness of resistance, partly also from the hope of good government and anxiety for peace."[12]

It was in this atmosphere, of popular sullenness, indifference and resignation that Elphinstone began to give shape to his measures for pacifying the conquered people and for consolidating the gains of conquest.

Elphinstone had an insight to sense the historically inevitable collapse of the British empire in India. But in the meantime he hoped the day far distant, and he resolved that he should contribute his mite to keep it off by great moderation in the settlement of the conquered land.[13]

'Moderation in the settlement' - was the key idea of Elphinstone's life work in Mahārāshtra. Elphinstone attached greatest value to winning the confidence of the conquered people. He wrote: "While we enjoy the confidence of the natives our boldest innovations are safe, but that once lost, our most cautious measures would involve us in dangers."[14] One of the facilitating factor for the ascendancy of the British rule in India was the dogged pursuit of limited objectives by the East India Company. Commercial concessions and revenue were the two great objectives that largely motivated Company's political actions. In return of these two advantages Company was ready to preserve the entire traditional social order in the conquered territories. This left lot of scope for moderation. Elphinstone was wise enough to put it to best advantage. "Elphinstone concentrated on the preservation of Indian society as a foundation on which improvements might later be erected."[15]

In the reorganisation of the conquered territories the Peshwa Bajirao could not find any place. The Governor General had decided as early as December 1817 not only to perpetually exclude Bajirao from sovereignty but to exile him from Mahārāshtra. Bijirao was conducted to Brahmavarta

also known as Bithur near Kanpur where he stayed until he died.

The Supreme Government had given Elphinstone a choice with regard to the arrangement to be made with Pratapsingh, the Raja of Satara, the descendat of Shivaji and nominal head of the Maratha Empire. The Supreme Government had instructed Elphinstione to make provision for the Raja of Satara either by an assignment of land in jagir or by establishing him in a small and compact sovereignt under such conditions as shall secure the supremacy of the British Government. The Supreme Government also marked out the objectives which were calculated to be secured as a result of this arrangement: "the conciliation of the tribe of the Marathas to the new order of things, and the establishment of a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Brahmin Government."[16]

Elphinstone's shrewd political acumen could not but immediately grapp the psychological advantage in retaining the symbol of Maratha sovereignty. Pratap Singh could be used as puppet in diverting the popular feelings of the Marathas. Elphinstone used his discretion and bestowed upon Pratap Singh a Kingdom the boundaries of which were fixed at the Ghats on the West, the Nira on the North, the Nizam's

border on the East and Krishna and Warna on the South.

Elphinstone appointed Captain James Grant to act as Political Agent with the Raja of Satara. In a letter dated 8th April 1818 Elphinstone communicated to Captain James Grant the instructions for conducting the affairs of the newly created Satara State.[17] After enumerating the British objectives for setting up the new state he instructed James Grant to impress upon the people as well as the Raja of Satara that the new state was not intended to revive even in name the Empire of Shivaji. Elphinstone also stressed that James Grant had to secure the Raja's goodwill but he had also to make it quite clear that the authority of the British Government was in reality supreme. Otherwise, 'the machine we are setting up will be liable to be turned against us.'[18]

Before addressing his energies for the final settlement of the conquered territories Elphinstone issued provisional instructions to the British District Officers. These provisional instructions gave an indication of the temper of Elphinstone's future plan for the Deccan settlement. In a circular dated 22nd April 1818 to captain Pottinger, Provisional Collector at Ahmednagar, Elphinstone instructed him to circulate his Proclamation throughout the district and to

assure the Amaldars and Patils good treatment and protection. Elphinstone also instructed Pottinger to abolish the farming system but asked him to retain the rest of the Maratha revenue system. All lands held free of revenue were to be allowed to remain so and to be left with their proprietors, the British Government was not to interfere with the hereditary property of this kind. Jagirs of persons with Bajirao were to be seized but those Jagirdars who collaborated with the British were to be preserved. Elphinstone, however, made it clear that he wished to consolidate the various rights and claims levied under the names of mokasa and therefore District Collectors should be careful to avoid any step that might limit the British right to future interference respecting them. Ahmednagar Collector was further instructed to employ every means to conciliate the Bhils and Ramoshis; to continue to them any privileges they might had possessed before Bājirāo's accession.[19] John Briggs, one of Elphinstone's key men working as District Collectors, reiterated the spirit of Elphinstone's circular when he issued instructions to the Mamlatdars under his charge. Briggs instructed the Mamlatdars that the main function of the revenue officials under the new regime was to preserve the socio-economic system, in the villages.[20]

As Commissioner of the Deccan, Elphinstone prepared a report on the conquered territories. The report contained a

short account of the provinces under the Peshwa's Government, a sketch of Maratha history, a review of the system of administration, revenue, and judicature pursued by the Marathas. Elphinstone's 'report on the conquered territories from the Peshwa' is a classic example of Elphinstone's historical insight and administrative workmanship. The report contained all his ideas about the future reorganisation of the newly conquered land. As Colebrooke has rightly put it: 'The pervading tone of this long report is that of moderation and caution in its suggestions, a caution springing not merely from a sense of the political difficulties attending the conquest of a great empire, but from those which are inherent in the sudden extension of European principles of administration in the East.'[21]

Elphinstone's insistence on the preservation of Maratha institutions was extended to the Jagirdars for whose fate Elphinstone showed special concern during his administration. Elphinstone had expressed his sense of the importance of preserving the privileges of the Maratha feudal chiefs in his letter to Secretary Metcalfe while reporting to him the terms of this important settlement. 'The British', he wrote, 'were committed to preserve them

and much would be gained through loyal attachment of a flourishing and contented portion of the old nobility.'[22] In his 'Report on the territories conquered from the Peshwa,' Elphinstone had given his own estimate of the social influence and political importance of Maratha Jagirdars as a class. 'The Maratha jagirdars enjoyed unusual influence with the Maratha nation as they were, unlike Muslim jagirdars, of the same national stock and religion, and as they were the descendants of those who had been their leaders since the Maratha nation rose to independence'.[23] These jagirdars, in Elphinstone's opinion merited special appreciation. He impressed upon the supreme government that the British Government should respect the Pandharpur agreement by virtue of which the Maratha jagirdars were entitled to have the entire management of their estates.[24]

Earlier, the Governor General had laid down the principle, to be followed by Elphinstone. The main provision of the Governor General's despatch was that those Jagirdars who had collaborated with or submitted to British Government were to retain their privileges on the basis of Pandharpur agreement. Notable Maratha feudal nobles who had faithfully followed Bajirao had to suffer as a result of this policy. The axe of persecution fell on

Madhavrao Baste, Vithal Narasingh Vinchurkar and the descendants of Bapu Gokhale. The Patwardhans of Southern Maratha Country gained most from this settlement. They all retained their jagirs, they all continued to maintain contingents and they were all rewarded with additions to the personal part of their jagirs.[25]

Elphinstone also settled the privileges of those jagirdars who held their estates from the Raja of Satara. A fresh agreement was signed with the jagirdars of Aundh, Bhor, Akkalkot, Phaltan, Jath and Wai who chose to remain with the Raja of Satara. The jagirdars of Mudhol, Nargund and Ramdurg opted for serving the British Government directly. Elphinstone had stipulated a guarantee of loyalty from the future generations of jagirdars by excluding hereditary principle in the jagir grants. With all his love for nobility Elphinstone could not spare any Maratha noble who was not willing to be loyal to the British Government.

Old Maratha military leaders received fair treatment at the hands of Elphinstone. Many of the former Maratha military leaders were given honourable pensions. A practical politician as he was, Elphinstone's moral sense was not disturbed when he resolved to leave the demobilised soldiers of the former government to the mercy of their own fate.

Elphinstone enlisted a very small portion of Peshwa's demobbed Maratha soliders in the British army. The leaderless demobbed Maratha soliders could not be a potentially serious cause of disturbance. Things were quite different with the jagirdars. They had to be provided comfortably.

Elphinstone had no high opinion about the Maratha Brahmins. He was uncharitable to them to the extent of calling them narrow-minded, bigoted and a lying race. But grudgingly he admitted the Brahmin influence over the Maratha public opinion and therefore he was eager to conciliate the Maratha Brahmins who had lost most by the new political change. Elphinstone's anxiety to conciliate the Maratha Brahmins is revealed in his resolve to continue the State patronage to the Brahmins through the distribution of dakshina. Elphinstone's decision to found the Sanskrit College at Poona also reflected the same anxiety to enlist the support of the Brahmins for the consolidation of the new regime.

Elphinstone's patronage to Native Education Society of Bombay showed his concern for fostering education among the natives of all sections. Elphinstone's chief argument for the spread of western education among natives also related to a political expediency. In his Minute on

Education he wrote: "The dangers to which we are exposed from the sensitive character of the religion of the natives, and the slippery foundation of our Government, owing to the total seperation between us and our subjects, require the adoption of some measure to counteract them, and the only one is, to remove their prejudices and to communicate our own principles and opinions by the diffusion of a rational education."[26]

Elphinstone's concern for spreading education among the conquered people was a part of his larger concern for creating an extended base for the British rule. All his plans and projects stemmed from his desire to lay a deeper and more enduring base for the preservation of British privileges in India. In his Minute on Education he categorically advised the strict exclusion of any programme in which either religion or any other topic likely to excite discontent among the natives should ever be touched on.[27]

About the Missionary work among the lower classes Elphinstone wrote: "It is observed that the missionaries find the lowest castes the best pupils. But we must be careful how we offer any special encouragement to men of that description. They are not only the most despised, but among the least numerous of the great divisions of

society, and it is to be feared that if our system of education first took root among them, it would never spread further, and that we might find ourselves at the head of a new class superior to the rest in useful knowledge, but hated and despised by the castes to whom these new attainments would always induce us to prefer them. Such a state of things would be desirable, if we were contented to rest our power on our army or on the attachment of a part of the population, but is inconsistent with every attempt, to found it on a more extended basis.'[28]

Elphinstone's insistence to exclude Christain Missionaries from the Deccan also stemmed from his fear of popular resentment against religious interference.

In the administration of land revenue Elphinstone tried to revive the Maratha system as it existed before Bajirao. He abolished the farming system as it revolted against his sense of rational agrarian policy. He instructed the Collectors to continue to collect the land revenue as had been the Maratha custom through the Patil, each cultivator paying him for his actual cultivation.[29] He reorganised the revenue division and placed them under native mamlatdars who were instructed to settle the land tax in negotiations with the village chiefs and the leading peasants of the village. Elphinstone was initially opposed

to the ryotwari system and therefore he instructed the mamlatdars to settle the tax on villages as a whole, instead of settling on individual peasants.[30] But in the end Elphinstone was led to support the view which favoured to establish a contractual relationship between the state and the peasant.

Elphinstone's decision to preserve the Panchayat system of village justice also stemmed from his unwillingness to introduce invovations and changes as far as possible. The Code of 1827, Elphinstone's parting gift to the people of Deccan, embodied his lifework for the cause of British consolidation.

Subjugation of the Marathas was a stupendous task for the fulfilment of which Elphinstone addressed his best energies. He strove to conciliate and pacify the conquered Marathas with this aim in view. That the fabric of reconciliation between foreign rulers and the conquered people is seldom woven smoothly, was to be borne out by future events.

Notes

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3. Ibid. P. 42.

4. Ibid. P.43.

5. Ibid. P.46.

6. Ibid. P.72-73.

7. Elphinstone's Report on the conquered territories, quoted by Colebrooke P.95.

8. Ravinder Kumar: "Western India In The Nineteenth Century", Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, P.44.

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10. Ballhatchet, Kenneth: 'Social Policy And Social Change In Western India. 1817-1830. London, 1957, P.30.

11. Robertson, H.D. Collector of Poona to Elphinstone, dated 8th April 1818, Peshwa Daftar, Deccan Commissioner's File for the year 1818.

12. Elphinstone's letter to Capt. Close dated 16th April,1818 Quoted by Colebrooke Vol.II. Pp.40-41.

13. Elphinstone's Letter to Captain Close, quoted by Colebrooke Vol. II, P.42.

14. Elphinstone's Report On The Conquered Territories, quoted by Colebrooke, Vol. II, P.95.

15. Bearce, George D.: 'British Attitude Towards India 1784-1858' Chapter V. P. 134.

16. Supreme Government to Mountstuart Elphinstone, quoted by Ballhatchet P.16.

17. Peshwa Daftar, Vol.402. Deccan Commissioner's Files, 1818, P.8.

18. Ibid. also quoted by Ballhatchet P.20.

19. Peshwa Daftar, Vol.402, Deccan Commissioner's File 1818, Pp.1-2.

20. Choksey, R.D. Early British Administration 1817-1836. Poona 1964. P.3.

21. Colebrooke, ii, Pp.73-74.

22. Elphinstone to Secretary Metcalfe, Quoted by Colebrooke ii Pp.60-61.

23. Elphinstone, 'Report On The Territories Conquered From the Peshwa, 'Quoted by Colebrooke, Vol. II, P.75.

24. Elphinstone to Secretary Metcalfe, quoted by Colebrook II, P.75.

25. Ballhatchet, P.63.

26. Elphinstone's Minute On Education; Official writings of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Edited by C.W. Forrest, London, 1884. Pp.101-102.

27. Ibid., P.81.

28. Ibid., P.105.

29. Elphinstone's circular to Collectors dated 10th July 1818. Choksey. R.D. : 'Aftermath' P.293.

30. Davinder Kumar. Western India. P.57.

Chapter IV

Aftermath

Mountstuart Elphinstone's administration of the territories conquered from the Peshwa substantially contribute towards the consolidation of the British power in India. While in 1796 the revenues of Bombay were only 24 lakhs and the 'fixed' charges 46 lakhs-making the Bombay government chronically dependent on support from elsewhere - in 1819 the revenue was 206 lakhs and the 'fixed' charge 87 lakhs. Elphinstone's administration also prepared the background for a socio-political transformation of Mahārāshtra on new lines. Between Elphinstone's departure from India and assumption of Indian authority by the British crown a period of intense political and social activity intervenes in the annals of Mahārāshtra. The British rule during this period proved to be what Marx described as unconscious tool of history, in laying the foundation of a social revolution.[1]

The British domination influenced the secular life of Mahārāshtra in major areas of socio-political dynamics.

The reorganisation of the economic alignment in the rural areas; complete subjugation of the decadent Maratha princely power and transformation of the communicative channels of public life - these were the chief operative levers which worked towards the remaking of social life in Mahārāshtra in the mid-nineteenth century. A survey of this threefold process bears out the truth of Marx's observation about the British rule being an unconscious tool of history.

Agrarian Reorganisation

The acquisition of political power in Mahārāshtra confronted the British rulers with the key problem of reorganising the rural economy in the interest of their social and political objectives. The problem of reorganising the rural economy was not a theoretical or doctrinal one. It was a practical issue, the solution of which involved many consequences.

All the early British conquerors were convinced about the ephemeral character of their stay in India. They were often terribly aware of the alien nature of the conquest they represented. The probability of their inevitable exit from India, however, was a theoretical proposition. In the meantime they had decided to stay in India, and workable

basis of their locus standi had to be formulated. Collection of taxes was an important business of the state in medieval India. The land revenue was the heart of the administrative system. It was through the land revenue policy that a government in medieval India could influence the rural social structure.

Excellent attempts have been made recently to analyse the impact of certain ideological influences that shaped the revenue policies of the British administration in India in the nineteenth century. Eric Stokes had written a well reasoned book showing the utilitarian influence at work in the 19th century British revenue policies in India.[3] A recent most study has blamed Eric Stokes for overdoing the influence of theories.[4] Though Barrington Moore's remark is too sweeping; it may be fairly said that Eric stokes has certainly belittled the role of expediency in the matters of British policies in India. Eric Stokes's work also displays a propensity to undervalue the influence of Indian realities and background in the shaping of British policies. It cannot be denied that the British administrative policies evolved and shaped under the impact of the English socio-economic ideas. Yet these policies remained firmly rooted in the Indian soil. They grew in the Indian social climate. British policies in India were open to ideological influences of the

British isles; but they could not but be moulded by the demands of Indian realities.

A recently published work also displays a similar tendency to overestimate the role of English ideas in the shaping of British administrative policies.[6] One could hardly withhold credit to the British administration for its awareness of the role of the state in society, the sophistication of its insight into the socio-economic problems and its grasp of the principles of economic organisation. It is these qualities that distinguish the British administrators from their predecessors in India. If there is a single general element which explains the British triumph in India, then it is to be found in the superior British skill of perception and organisation. This skill alone gave a cutting edge and staying power to the British authority in India, in the nineteenth century. But the organisational superiority of the British in framing the measures is one thing and the shaping influence of the so called driving ideas is another! The real fact was that the agrarian relations existing before the British rule were modified and adapted by the British authorities in India to serve the economic and political objectives of the Company. No alien authority, least of all British, could

ever override the consideration of its overall economic and political objectives while working out the administrative measures. The rulers often pick up only those ideas and intellectual influences which serve their immediate as well as long term interests. And the British rulers were no exception to this law.

The basic initial objective of the East India Company in grasping the Indian territories was the realisation, by all sorts of methods, of as large revenue as possible. In the wake of Industrial Revolution in England a marked change overtook the affairs of the Company in India. The industrial capital which had conquered political power in England in the early nineteenth century now directed the East India Company to conquer the vast Indian market for British industry. The administrative measures of the nineteenth century British rulers in India were mainly aimed at making India a supplier of raw materials for British industries and a consumer of their manufactured goods.

The impulse to maximise the land revenue never left the British rulers. But now the emphasis was shifted to the task of expanding the market for British manufacturers. This led to the British desire for raising the agricultural productivity in conquered territories. The British thus

developed stakes in preventing pauperisation of rural population even from the restricted and narrow point of view of maximising the revenue.[6] Most of the revenue settlements conducted by the British rulers in the mid-nineteenth century, including those conducted in Mahārāshtra, bear out the truth of this observation.

Much has been made out about the impact of the utilitarian ideas on the British revenue policies. To a certain extent it is true. But British theories generally turn out to be British expediencies.

After acquiring power in Mahārāshtra British rulers were confronted with the question of selecting the form of land revenue collection. The question was whether payment should be effected through intermediaries as in Bengal, or directly from the individual peasant. The situation then existing in Mahārāshtra broadly shaped the British decision on this issue. During the Maratha period all land in Mahārāshtra and other parts of the Deccan was regarded as the property of the rulers of the state, who exercised the right of supreme ownership by collecting land rent in the form of land revenue. While the rulers exercised the right of supreme ownership, the cultivated lands and the adjoining waste land, forest and meadow land were held by the village

community. The bulk of the stock of land in Mahārāshtra was at the disposal of the revenue office. W.Chaplin who submitted a report on the fiscal and judicial administration of the newly conquered territories in 1824, mentioned that in the newly conquered territories above the Ghats, 7229 villages were at the disposal of the revenue office and 2252 were privately owned.[7] Privately owned villages were the land grants issued by the earlier rulers to feudal Inamholders. With the State being supreme owner of the land in pre-British Mahārāshtra, private Inam landownership meant the right of the owners to collect for their benefit all or part of the land revenue from the lands granted to them. A Soviet historian has pointed out 'State ownership of land, private feudal land holding and the village community comprised the chief elements of the agrarian system of feudal Maharashtra in the 18th and early 19th centuries.[8]

During the early period of British occupation, the Maratha Inamdars were not touched by the British rulers. After the British had consolidated their hold over the territory, the proprietory rights of some of the Inamdars began to be scrutinised and curtailed. In

1843 a special Inam Committee was appointed whose officials carried out in 1843-46 a preliminary check of the titles of the different categories of the Inamholders. In 1852 the same body was renamed as the Inam Commission, and was given a legal basis through a special legislation - India Act of 1852.[9] The Inam Commission continued to conduct its proceedings throughout the period under review. Shortly after the sepoy mutiny of 1857 a change in the general direction of British internal policy in India resulted in the suspension of the Inam Commission; and settlement was effected with Inamdars to the satisfaction of both parties. The Inam holdings in Mahārāshtra, however, comprised a small portion of the land.[10]

Most of the state revenue during this period was derived from the land taxation and the state demand absorbed almost the whole of surplus produce of the soil. The state thus enjoyed the position of a universal landlord, and the British Government did not give up this position. Important decisions regarding principles and policy in revenue matters had been reached before 1819 roughly between 1814 and 1817 and the motive force behind these decisions was not utilitarian philosophy.[11] The principles which were agreed upon and so far laid down were these: The basic principles of Bengal system were rejected. Neither were the proprietors

to be created nor was the revenue demand to be fixed for ever. It was proposed to conduct an accurate survey to asertain the produce of the land and to ascertain and record the rights of the agricultural classes. On the basis of these principles; Holt Mackenzie framed his massive memorandum of July 1, 1819.[12]

Basing themselves on the Ricardo's theory of rent the utilitarians asserted that landlords were nothing more than parasatic rent receivers, absorbing the surplus produce to which they had no rightful claim. Cornwallis had installed the zamindars in power in Bengal. James Mill described the Bengal zamindars as 'useless drones on the soil,' and insisted that improvement of agriculture in India must take place through ryots. All these ideas appealed to the British administrators in Mahārāshtra because the objective conditions in the Deccan favoured reception of such ideas. The British administration needed revenue, British economic theory sanctioned the appropriation of the agricultural surplus by the state. The British administrators therefore went ahead and resolved the issue by organising the measures which are known as settlements.

During the first few years after the annexation of the Deccan, the British retained the Maratha land revenue system with some minor changes. The system of farming which was introduced by Bajirao II was set aside and the earlier Maratha system of collecting the land revenue through mamlatdars and patils was revived by Elphinstone. The revenue squeezes were considerably intensified during the early years of Elphinstone's administration. Between 1817-21 the total land revenue in Bombay presidency was more than doubled, though the cultivated area remained practically the same as before.[13]

During the early period of British rule, the various methods of land revenue collection continued in use. In the process of the reform introduced by the British rulers, a regular land survey and settlement was introduced and a uniform land tax was imposed.

The revenue settlements in western Maharashtra went through two distinct stages. In 1824-28 the first regular survey and settlement were attempted. The second phase of the revenue reform was begun in latter half of 1830's and completed by the close of early sixties. The chief design of the revenue survey as defined by the joint report of Goldsmid, Wingate and

Davidson was to be the regulation of the customary land tax, so that it shall at once secure an adequate revenue to Government, the progressive development of the agricultural resources of the country, and the preservation of all proprietory and other rights connected with the soil.[14]

The first phase of the revenue survey and settlement is linked with the name of Pringle who was a revenue official under Elphinstone. Pringle had come to India after attending the courses at the East India College at Haileybury where he was administered a strong dose of Utilitarian philosophy and Ricardian economics. As a doctrinaire Pringle disagreed with the conservative British administrators about the nature of reforms to be introduced in the rural reorganisation. His utilitarian concepts and Ricardian economics had prejudiced him against the Maratha revenue system under Bajirao II which was based on institutions like jatha and the village community. This incidental ideological preoccupation of Pringle made him aware of an earlier revenue system of the Marathas which was introduced by Peshwa Madhaorao I, known as Kamal survey. The Kamal survey was based on an evaluation of individual holdings

rather than of entire villages. This survey provided an accurate record of the rural resources. Pringle favoured the revival of Kamal Survey and he advanced utilitarian arguments in favour of his proposal. Pringle proposed the institution of a legal and rational relationship between the ryot, as a tenant, and the state, as the supreme landlord in the country. As Ravinder Kumar has rightly pointed out : "The ryotwari system of land revenue proposed by Pringle sought to undermine the collective quality of life in rural society and to substitute in its place a competitive and individualistic social climate. It hinged on the belief that the liberation of the ryots from their obligations to the Jatha and the village community would create the condition for the emergence of prosperous peasantry whose rational values and desire for acquisition would stimulate economic progress and create a stable social order."[15]

Most of Pringle's proposals were incorporated in the survey and settlement which introduced a ryotwari system of land revenue establishing a direct relationship between the mirasdar and the state. Pringle's preoccupation with Ricardian theory of rent

had prompted him to reject the traditional principle of assessment on the gross produce. The rates of assessment were reckoned on the basis of an estimate of the yields of crops on different kinds of soil, and land revenue was re-examined from year to year which provided additional opportunity to the Government to augment the state revenue.

That the most brutal measures of compulsion including torture were employed in the 1820's and 1830's for the collection of the revenue was admitted by an official report.[16] Coercion and ideas, both had a share in the British programme of rural reorganisation of Mahārāshtra during the period under review.

The second phase of the land-settlement, which began in the latter half of the 1830's is connected with the names of Goldsmid and Wingate. Goldsmid and Wingate abolished Pringle's emphasis on the laws of political economy but they still subscribed to the utilitarian belief that the springs of creativity could be tapped only by individuals like the Kunbis, and not by organised social groups like Jathas.[17] Beginning with 1835 a cadastrial survey of all lands was gradually undertaken and simultaneously a new

revenue settlement was introduced in Bombay Presidency, district by district. In the Maratha districts the reform had been completed by the close of the fifties and early sixties.[18]

One of the key features of the ryotwari land revenue system was that the private property rights of ryots were secured both to the Mirasdars and Upris who now paid the the land revenue direct to the state. Besides Mirasdars and Upris, village community servants or artisans also secured the private property rights on their Inams on condition that they accepted to serve as village watchmen. The bulk of the ryots, however, were former mirasdars.[19] As experience later proved, the introduction of the ryotwari system resulted in the stimulation of the process of formation of a class of rich peasants with proprietory rights on their holdings.

The introduction of the ryotwari system favoured the growth of moneylending at usurious rates in Mahārāshtra during the period under review. The new courts of law introduced by the British also favoured the moneylending operations of the newly arrived Marawari sahookars. The popular grievance against this process was dramatically posed by the peasants of the Thana district when over seven thousand peasants petitioned the Government against the procedure of the law courts which favoured the moneylending class.[20]

The agrarian settlements were accompanied by suitable modifications in the administrative structure in the rural areas. Clearly defined powers and responsibilities form an essential element of an efficient centralised power structure. The East India Company succeeded in creating such a structure to a remarkably high degree. This was indeed the single decisive factor in its successes against its rivals. But the system of centralised functioning was not imported by the Company as a ready made artifact. It was evolved and improved upon by the British administrators in India.

In the newly conquered territories in the Deccan the British administrators opted for introducing suitable modifications in the old Maratha system of administration to suit the objectives of their rule. The office of Deshmukh turned out to be superflous in the working of ryotwari system. The Government of Bombay in 1839 resolved to restrict the Deshmukhs from any direct interference in the revenue management of the country and stopped employing them as agents between the government and the ryots.[21]

The British however could not dispense with Patil and Kulkarni whose authority had to be reinforced to ensure the stability of the regime in the rural areas. The Act XI

of 1843 empowered the Collector with wide power in the selection of the village officials. At the same time the office of Patil was made more lucrative by increasing his emoluments. After Elphinstone nobody protected the village panchayat from getting its jurisdiction and power curbed. Introduction of Adalat Courts undermined the influence and position of the village panchayat.

British Policy Towards Maratha Princely States

Though the early British administrators had regarded the British dominance in India as a temperory and transitory phase of history, the imperialist impulse to annex as many territories as possible was never wanting in their dealings with the native states. The fortunes of the Indian native state remained, therefore, to fluctuate depending on the exigencies of the needs of the British administration. A brief historical narrative of the relations of the British with the native states in Mahārāshtra during the period under review with corraborate this observation. While a tiny state of Jawahar retained its territorial integrity to the last days of the British rule, the newly created Satara state came to a sad end in 1848.

The British right of conquest of Indian territories had no foundation other than the right of the strongest.

Marquis of Hastings wrote in 1815: " It was by preponderence of power that those mines of wealth had been acquired for the company's treasury, and by preponderence of power alone would they be retained ".[22]

" Preponderance of power " was the key idea that moved Wellesley, Marquis of Hastings and Dalhousie from measures to measures that in the end won for the British in India paramountcy in the subcontinent. Midnineteenth century saw a sudden change in the relationship between the Indian native states and the British Government. It witnessed their metamorphosis from cogeries of quasi-independent units, some openly hostile, most at heart antagonistic to the British and resentful of British intentions towards them, into a body with so complete an acquiescence in the paramount position of the British that even the shock of the mutiny could not subvert it.[23]

The British paramountcy was achieved through a succession of stages. The first stage ended with the administration of Warren Hastings. The company secured a place for itself among the great powers of the land during this stage. The second stage ending with the Governor Generalship of Wellesley, gave the Company the undisputed position of " primus inter pares " among the states in India. During the administration of Lord Hastings the treaty map was practically completed and the duties of

subordinate cooperation was emphasised. Thereafter the Company stood forth as the undisputed paramount of almost all the states of India and exercised many rights not based upon any treaty but on the fact of paramountcy alone.[24] Thus the political system of the British paramountcy had passed through various phases or periods which Lee-Warner had described as the period of ' the ring fence ' extending to 1813, that of ' subordinate isolation ' which lasted until 1857 and that which followed the mutiny, of " subordinate union ".[25]

With the extinction of the power of the Peshwa, the British Government became the acknowledged suzerain, though the British maintained the legal fiction of the Mughal emperor's overlordship. By virtue of conquest East India Company assumed the status of a central authority in the country and won for itself a claim to be the repository of the rights and privileges of the Mughal emperors as well as of the Peshwas. The numerous treaties and engagements between the Company and the Native states in Mahārāshtra during the period under review underline the paramount position of the Company. As Argyll puts it: " Those treaties expressed nothing but the will of a superior imposing on his vassal so much as for the time it was thought expedient to require ".[26]

The British policy towards the native Maratha

princely chiefs alternated between moderation and excess. The policy of moderation or excess both stemmed from the immediate political expediency than from any doctrine. Legality of many measures was questioned by the constitutional pundits, but the British were not mindful of legal niceties when faced with a situation that promised expansionist consequences. British spoke softly but carried a big stick. And that was the secret of their success in India, during the period under review.

Jawāhar

Jawāhar was a tiny state in Thana agency. It covered an area of 310 square miles. The Koli chiefs of Jawāhar were left alone by the Deccanese kingdoms, Mughals and Portuguese. The Peshwas, however, imposed their sovereignty over Jawāhar in 1732 when Raja Patang Shah II entered into an arrangement with the Peshwa which provided an annual tribute of Rs. 1000 and a nazarana on the investiture of every new Raja. The British acquired this suzereinty right when the Company in 1822 recognised Patang Shah III as Raja. The nazarana due to the British Government was remitted without affecting the right of Government to claim it on any future occasion.[27]

Janjira

The Siddis of Janjira who had held jagirs from the

Kings of Bijāpur had retained their virtual independence from the Peshwas in their internal administration. In 1834 the British Government declared Janjira to be subject to the British power; and in virtue of the British supremacy, abolished the Native mint at Janjira.[28]

Sāwantwadī

During the regency of Durgābai, the widow of late Khem Sāwant, the British concluded a treaty on the 17th February 1819 by which the British Government agreed to protect the State of Sāwantwadī and the regency acknowledged the British supremacy and agreed to cede the whole line of sea coast from the Kārli river to the boundaries of the Portuguese possessions, and to receive British troops into Sāwantwadī. In 1838 the chief of Sāwantwadī transferred to the British Government the right to levy land and sea customs in Sāwantwadī. The rebellious attitude of the Sardars paved the way for the British to assume in 1838 the management of the state. In 1845 the Sāwantwadī mint was suppressed and British coinage was introduced. The Sāwantwadī Local Corps was raised in 1839 with the British Political Agent as the Commandant.[29]

Southern Maratha Jagirdars

At the time of the Peshwa's overthrow there were six seperate estates held by members of the Patwardhan family-Sāngli, Miraj (senior Branch) Miraj (Junior Branch), Tasgaon, Kurundwad and Jamkhindi. With the chiefs of these estates engagements were signed by the British Government which bound them to dependence on the British. The Jagirdars of the Patwardhan family, with the exception of Jamkhindi, displayed loyalty to the British Government in the mutinies of 1857 and all of them except the chief of Kurundwad received Sanads in 1862 authorising them to adopt a successor in default of natural heirs.[30]

Kolhāpur

The Raja of Kolhāpur concluded a Treaty on 1st October 1812 with the British Government by which he ceded certain forts, engaged to abstain from hostilities with other states and to refer all his disputes with other states to the arbitration of the British Government. Three times between 1822 and 1829 the British Government moved its forces against the Raja of Kolhāpur on one pretext or other. The treaties of 1826 and 1829 further restricted the armed strength of the Kolhāpur state and in 1829 the Raja was stripped of the districts of Chikoli,

Manoli and Akiwat. He was also compelled to admit British troops into his forts and to accept a minister appointed by the British Government.

During the regency of Diwan Sahiba, the British Government under the plea of misrule appointed a minister of its choice to manage the Kolhāpur state. This appointment resulted in a general rebellion, which extended to the neighbouring state of Sāwantwadī. After the suppression of this rebellion the British Government assumed direct administration of the state during the minority of the Raja. The forts of all types were dismanteled. The military force of the state was disbanded and a local corps was raised. This arrangement continued till 1862 when the management was restored to the Raja with whom a new treaty was concluded which bound the Raja, in all matters of importance, to be guided by the advice of the British Government.[31]

Kolāba

The British concluded a treaty with Raghuji Angre of the Kolāba state in 1822 recognising the rights he had enjoyed under the Peshwas. The treaty prohibited the chief of Kolāba from political intercourse with other states, bound him to subordination to the British power.

Raghuji Āngre died on 26th December 1838. On the 28th January 1839, a posthumous son was born and his accession under the name of Kanhoji Angre was recognised. This boy died on the 9th April 1840; and with him the direct and legitimate line of claimants to the chieftainship became extinct. The widows of Raghuji wished to adopt a son. The succession was also claimed by Sambháji Āngre, grandson of Yesaji, the second illegitimate son of the first Kānhojī Āngre, the founder of the principality. But the British Government rejected both the pleas and the territory of Kolāba was annexed to the British dominions.[32]

Sātārā

The state of Sātārā was created by the British with a political aim of establishing a counterpoise to the influence of the deposed Peshwa. There was lot of mud behind the marble facade of the independent state of Sātārā. The British policy towards Pratapsing was like that of a banker who lends an umbrella in fair weather only to ask for it back when it begins to rain.

During the war with Bājirāo, Elphinstone had issued a proclamation on IIth February 1818 declaring the British intention of placing Pratāpsing the Raja of Sātārā as the head of a seperate state, to such an extent,

as might maintain him and his family in comfort and dignity. Pratāpsing was then in Peshwa's camp. Pratāpsing was secured after the battle of Āshti on the 20th February 1819 and on the 25th September a Treaty was concluded with him defining the limits of his state and conditions on which he was to hold it. Under the 6th article of this treaty, the administration of the state was retained by the British Government till 1822, when it was made over to the Raja; but he was bound to attend at all times to the advice which the British Government might give him.

In 1829 the Raja ceded lands in Mahābaleshwar hills for the establishment of a sanitorium and to secure an uninterrupted line of communication to the British territories.

No man loves his fetters, be they made of gold, so was the case with Pratāpsing. In 1839 Pratāpsing was deposed. The British found him holding communications with the Portuguese and having held secret talks with Appāsaheb the ex-Raja of Nagpur. He was also accused of having tampered with the loyalty of the Native Infantry. The British Government was willing to forgive him if he was ready to modify the treaty of 1819. But Pratāpsing refused to oblige the British.

This resulted in his expulsion from Sātārā. He was removed to Benares where he died in 1847, leaving no male issue, but having adopted his first cousin, a few years before his death.[33]

The Company had no grievance against Pratāpsing till 1835. The Court of Directors, in fact, had resolved to present him with a sword as a token of their appreciation and regard, and they sent him a letter signed by all the members of the Court complimenting him upon his exemplary discharge of the duties of his elevated post.[34] Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay instead of delivering this sword and letter to the Raja, issued a firman deposing Prātāpsing from the throne. The dethronement of Pratāpsing was certainly a departure from Elphinstone's policy towards the Sātārā principality. But in a way it was a vindication of the earlier British resolve to exercise complete control over the Sātārā state. Even James Grant Duff who was sympathetically disposed towards Pratāpsing had emphitically rejected the Raja's claims to control the jagirdars. On the question of adoption Grant Duff, the former Political Agent in Satara, disapproved the British recourse to non-recognition of Pratāpsing's adoption.[35] The non-recognition of Pratāpsing's adoption

indicated the reversing nature of British policy towards the Satara principality, which was in keeping with the changed British policy.

On the deposition of Pratāpsing, his brother Shahājī or Appāsāheb was placed in power and a new treaty was signed on 4th September 1839. Appāsāheb died on the 5th April 1848. Before his death he had adopted a collateral relative Vyankoji, descended from Shivājī, the founder of the Maratha State. But the British Government refused to recognise the adoption and decided that the Satara territory had by failure of heirs, lapsed to the power that bestowed it.[36]

Nāgpur

In 1817 Appāsaheb Bhonsla succeded to Parsoji as the ruler of Nāgpur. Soon after his accession Appāsaheb made common cause with the Peshwa. He was deposed and arrested but effected his escape and found refuge among the Gonds of Central India. He lived a hunted life till he died at Jodhpur in 1840.

On the deposition of Appāsaheb, a son of Raghujī's daughter was placed in power on the 26th June 1818. During his minority the state was under the management of the British Resident. In 1823 when Raghujī, the new ruler attained majority and was entrusted with the administration

he ceded some territories to cover the cost of the subsidiary force. In 1829 the treaty was modified and the assigned districts were restored to Nāgpur State and a subsidiary of eight lakhs a year was taken instead. Raghujī retained the administration till his death on the 11th December 1853. He had died without a son, natural or adopted. The state was then annexed to British India.[37]

Technological Change In Methods Of Communication

One of the phenomenal changes that occurred in Mahārāshtra during this period relates to the technological innovation in the methods and channels of communication. Although the idea of communication modernisation as a determining element in the moulding of social relations may be debatable, the existence of an interrelationship between the technological change and socio-political relations is too obvious to be denied.

The new changes in the communication channels covered three important spheres - transport, post and press. The innovations introduced by the British Government in the methods and channels of communication influenced the superstructure of socio-political life in Mahārāshtra. Though the full impact of the modernisation

of the communicative channels was felt during the later part of the nineteenth century, the foundation of the modern technological basis of the communicative system was laid during the midpart of the nineteenth century.

The change from a primarily oral system of communication to a system of using printing press for communication affects the process of political and social mobilization. The introduction of printing press profoundly influenced the public life of Mahārāshtra in the mid-nineteenth century.[33] The quicker and more regular postal and transport services contributed to social mobility in a degree unknown in the earlier period.

Trade between Bombay and the Deccan mainland had been handicapped during the Peshwa period. The British sway over the Deccan paved the way for a free and uninterrupted trade. The economic intercourse of the Deccan was facilitated by the opening of a good carriage road up the western ghat. Opening the road on 10th November 1830 John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay said, "It is impossible for me to give a correct idea of this splendid work, which may be said to break down the wall between the Konkan and Deccan. It will give facility to commerce, be the greatest of convenience to troops and travellers and lessen the expenses of European and other articles..

This road will positively prove a creation of revenue."[39]

In the thirties, a regular monthly communication between Bombay and England by steamers navigating the Red Sea and the Meditarranean was established.[40] In 1844 the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was projected. The first rod was turned at Bombay in 1850; and the first twenty miles to Thana were opened in 1853.[41] About the inauguration of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway a Poona daily newspaper wrote :" Saturday the 16th of April, 1853 must be a memorable day henceforth forever in the annals of India,... The Great Indian Peninsula Railway was this day inaugurated... It is not merely the inauguration of a Railway thirty miles long. It is the commencement of a new era, and while time and history last, the memory of this day can never pass away."[42]

The incentive toward the development of communication in the Deccan, at the commencement of British rule, was at first the result of military necessity rather than the promotion of trade. With the increasing stability of the Government, the Company turned its attention to the development of roads for the easier passage of the internal products to the coast.[43] With the advent of the British, the means of communication had to improve, because the products of the interior,

especially cotton, had to find an outlet to the coast for exportation.[44]

Since 1826, all the leading routes in Poona had been taken up and made into fair roads. In 1830 the Poona Panwel road was greatly improved. Roads were now in continued construction and the new road down the Bhor Pass made it possible to send the field produce to the Konkan in carts.[45]

The Dak system of the Peshwas was widespread throughout the country. But it was run for official work. Private individuals had to rely on privately run postal service. In 1830 the Company sponsored Mail Cart started operating between Poonā and Panwel.[46] One Parsi gentleman Meher Wāndru ran a private postal service throughout the western Deccan in the twenties.[47] In 1854 the Indian Postal Act came into operation that opened a new era in the postal communication. In 1854 the telegraph communication between Bombay and Calcutta was established. In the same year telegraph line connected Sātārā with Bombay. In 1863 Poonā, Kolhāpur, Belgaon, Nāsik, Wālegaon and other towns were connected with Bombay by telgraphic communication.[48]

The first printing machine was installed in Bombay in 1779.[49] Installation of a printing machine was

followed by the appearance of a newspaper. The Bombay Herald, a weekly, came out in 1789. Bombay Gazette appeared in 1790. Bombay Courier, another weekly assumed publication in 1791. These English newspapers were the off shoots of the British press. The Anglo-Indian press was more English in spirit than Indian. The editors and proprietors were British and therefore these newspapers represented English opinion marked by Indian local colour.

The native merchant princes of Bombay came forward in 1838 to bring out the daily Bombay Times. Though the paper was run by Parsi finance it was staffed by British journalists and writers. The first Indian owned and Indian edited English weekly newspaper of Bombay was "The Native Observer." The Native Ovserver displayed a spirit of independence. In one of its early editorials, the Native Observer made fun of the tendency to praise British for everything. It wrote: "European men and women may be very liberal - and so they ought; their hands are in our pockets."[60] In an earlier editorial The Native Observer had indicted the regime of the East India Company: "The lust of conquest and frenzy of ambition conspire to strip the human character of every kindlier feeling.. The East India Company are the most accomplished tyrants."[61] On the question of the renewal

of the Company's Charter The Native Observer wrote: "The Charter of the Honourable Company must go... We shall move from exclusion to liberty, from monopoly to competition, from despotism to freedom."[52]

The Bombay Times was the creation of the Parsi merchants of Bombay. It was staffed by Englishmen; but it represented the viewpoint of the native merchants and traders of Bombay who were collaborating and at the same time contesting with the administration of the East India Company. "Bombay Oriental News' was another weekly which championed the native interests. In an article it wrote: "The Government of India is indifferent to the construction of public water works and to its shame it must be confessed that the Parsees have constructed nearly all those which are already in use."[53] The Telegraph And Courier was the consistent propagandist of the official views. The English press of Bombay set the tone for the Marathi press which was evenly divided between the loyalist and critical opinion.

Bāḷ Shāstrī Jāmbhekar's Bombay Durpan was a bilingual weekly-English and Marathi, started in 1832. The Bombay Durpan was followed by Bhau Mahajan's 'Prabhakar'. Then a host of Marathi papers began to appear all over Mahārāshtra. The Poona Observer was the

only English newspaper outside Bombay during this period. The other Marathi papers being published in the mid-nineteenth century included Mitrodaya (Poona); Dnyānodaya (Ahmednagar), Dnyānaprakash (Poona), Dnyāna Sindhu (Bombay) Vartamān Dipika (Bombay), Dhumaketu (Bombay), Vichāralaharī (Poona), Shubhasuchak (Satara), Jaganmitra (Ratnagiri), Dnyāna-Prasarak (Kolhapur) and Vartamān Sangraha (Kolhāpur).[64]

The role of the Marathi press in the ideological remaking of Mahārāshtra will be discussed elsewhere. The impact of the new system of education introduced by the British has also been dealt with in another section of the present work. What has been sketched here relates only to the story of modernisation of the communication channels which deeply influenced the public life of Mahārāshtra during the mid-19th Century.

Administrative Policies - A Brief Review

In the initial stage of the British consolidation in Mahārāshtra, the Company's government was reluctant to interfere in the social order. It was held that the new government's function was to preserve the social order rather than to reform it. In the mid-nineteenth century, the pressure in favour of social reform of

Indian society had grown in Britain and the Company was compelled to initiate measures of social reform. Among the abuses which offended the universal moral law was suttee. The suttee practice was of long standing in India. In 1829 and 1830 measures for abolition of suttee were legislated in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The measures against human sacrifice, female infanticide, thuggee and slavery were also enforced during this period.

The first concern of the British when they established their rule in Mahārāshtra was to organise the administration of justice. They did not, however, want to interfere with the customs of the country, partly because it took some time for them to understand what those customs actually were and partly because they were unwilling to create antagonism to their rule by interfering in the traditional law of the Marathas.[55] With the consolidation of their hold over the conquered territory, the British rulers felt secure to introduce the judicial changes. Mountstuart Elphinstone, during his governorship of Bombay, had the whole of the Bombay regulations formed into a regular code. That marked the beginning of the codification of law in India. The charter Act of 1833 took the first steps towards codification of law in British India. Until the new

codes came into force after 1858, the earlier criminal law was retained in Mahārāshtra as elsewhere in India.

The British imperial rule was esentially rule of administrative discretion, relatively unchecked by political or other countervailing forces and the appointments of the officials of the East India Company was by patronage during this period. By restricting all senior positions to the covenanted services, the British had eliminated Indians from higher administrative and judicial posts.

The country which under the Maratha administration had been in charge of many Mamlatdārs and Kamāvisdars was now placed under five principal officers such as the collectors of Khandesh, Poona, Ahmadnagar and the Karnatak and the political Agent at Satara. The main features of this District administration in Bombay followed the general pattern evolved elsewhere in British India. Each collectorate of District contained eight to twelve talukas each of which consisted of 100 to 200 villages. The village officers were the Pātil, the Kulkarni or Talati, the Mahar and the watchman. Each Taluk or subdivision was placed in charge of a Mamlatdar. Above the Mamlatdār was the Deputy Collector and above the Deputy Collector and

in charge of the entire district, was the District Collector and Magistrate. [56]

A system of judicial administration based on that of Bengal had been introduced in Bombay by Regulations of 1799. But modifications were made in 1827 under Mountstuart Elphinstone. The modified scheme set up District Courts for civil and criminal justice, from whose decisions appeals could be made to the Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Faujdari Adalat in civil and criminal cases respectively. A special court was established for trying political offences. It consisted of three Judges selected from those of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the District court. But in 1841 an Act was passed providing that crimes against the state should be tried in ordinary courts. [57]

Notes

1. "England, it is true, in causing a social revolution in Hindustan was actuated by the vilest interests, and was stupid in her manner of enforcing them. But that is not the question. The question is, can mankind fulfil its destiny without a fundamental revolution in the social state of Asia: If not, whatever may have been the crimes of England she was the unconscious tool of History in bringing about that revolution." Karl Marx.- :"British Rule in India." Article in New York Daily Tribune, 2nd June 25, 1853, Also included in "The First Indian War of Independence", Moscow 1962 P.21.

2. Caddel, Patrick: "History of the Bombay Army", Longmans, London, 1938, Pp.160-161.

3. Stokes Eric: The English Utilitarians and India, Oxford, 1961.

4. Moore Barrington: Social Origins of Dictatorship And Democracy, Allen Plane, Penguine Series, London, 1969, P.344.

5. Ravinder Kumar: Western India In The Nineteenth Century, London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1968.

6. Ganguly B.N. in his foreword to Sulekh Chandra Gupta's "Agrarian Relations And Early British Rule in India."

7. Chaplin W. : A Report Exhibiting a view of the fiscal and judicial system of administration, 1824, Reprint Bombay 1877 P.3 Quoted by G.G.Kotovsky: "Agrarian Relations In Maharashtra in late 19th and Early 20th Century: "Tilak And The Struggle For Indian Freedom" Edited by I.M.Reisner and N.M. Goldberg. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1966.

8. Kotovsky G.G. :"Tilak And The Struggle For Indian Freedom", P.97.

9. Etheridge A.T. : "Narrative of the Bombay Inam Commission, Poona 1873, P.1.

10. Chaplins's Report P.3.

11. Panigrahi D.N. : Charles Metcalfe In India, Ideas and Administration 1805-1835. Munshram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1968, P.V.

12. Ibid., P.32.

13. Kotovsky G.G. P.121.

14. Joint Report of H.E.Goldsmid, Capt. G.Wingate, Capt. D. Davidson, Bombay 1847, P.I.

15. Ravinder Kumar:"Western India", Pp.32-33.

16. Report of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1872-1873, Bombay 1873, P.41.

17. Ravinder Kumar: Western India, P.127.

18. Kotovsky G.G. P.123.

19. Ibid. P.132.

20. Bombay Archives, Revenue Department Vol.110/1194 of 1840.

21. Ibid., R.D. Volume 40/1003 of 1839.

22. The Cambridge History of India, Vol.V. Cambridge University Press, 1929, P.570.

23. Luard C.E. The Indian States 1818-1857. In "The Cambridge History of India Vol.V. Pp.570-633.

24. Prasad S.N. : "Paramountcy Under Dalhousie". Ranjit Printers, Delhi, 1964. Pp.2-4.

25. Warner Lee : The Life of Marquis of Dalhousie". Macmillan, London, 1904, Vol.II, P.108. Also "The Native States of India, London, 1910, P.61.

26. Argyll:"India Under Dalhousie And Cunning", P.II. Quoted by S.N. Prasad P.6

27. Aitchison C.U. :"Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol.VIII, 1931, Pp.69-70.

28. Ibid. Pp.86-87.

29. Ibid. Pp.293-295.

30. Ibid. Pp.224-225.

31. Ibid. Pp.216-218.

32. Ibid. P.394.

33. Ibid. Pp.395-396.

34. Kulkarni A.R. :'Grant Duff And the Satara Case,' Paper presented to Indian History Congress, 1963, Proceedings of the Bhagalpur Session, 1963, Pp.246-51.

35. Ibid.

36. Aitchison Vol.VIII, P.395-95.

37. Aitchison Vol.II Pp.476-77.

38. Ellen McDonalt has discussed the impact of modernisation of the communicative channels on the public life of Mahārashtra in the nineteenth century. He has mainly confined the scope of his study to the modernising of communication relating to vernacular publishing. Asian Survey, July 1963.

39. Edwardes S.M. "Bombay", Bombay 1901, P.112.

40. Ibid. P.113.

41. Ibid. P.120.

42. Poona Observer, April 23, 1853.

43. Choksey, R.D. :Economic History of the Bombay Deccan and Karnatak, 1818-1868, The Oriental Watchman Publishing House, 1946, Pp.192-193.

44. Ibid. Pp.199-200.

45. Ibid. P.198.

46. Karve C.G. : Mahārāshtratil British Rajawatichi Pahili Ghadi; Prasad, Poona, August 1957. P.64.

47. Joshi V.K. :Vruttapatrancha Itihas; Yugavani Prakashan, Bombay 1951, P.545.

48. Ibid. P.546.

49. Editorial Article in Bombay Times, December, 4, 1855.

50. The Native Observer, July 11, 1833.

51. Reproduced in Bombay Gazette, January 1,1833.

52. The Native Observer, July 4, 1833.

53. Bombay Oriental News, April 24, 1856.

54. Joshi V.K. : Vruttapatrancha Itihas, P.346.

55. Elphinstone had cautioned his colleagues against haste in introducing judicial changes. Elphinstone's letter to Stratchy dated April 21,1821. Quoted by Colebrooke, T.E.: Life of Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Vol.II, John Murray, London, 1884. P.125.

56. Majumdar R.C. and Datta, K.K.: British Paramountcy And Indian Renasisance, Part I, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963, P.332.

57. Ibid.

Chapter V

Modernisation of Political Ideas

The advent of British rule in Mahārāshtra changed the skyline of the ideological world of the Marathas. The old political structure based on "bābati, sardeshmukhi, mokāsā, chouth, savotra and jagir" had broken down; and the centre of political decision making was shifted from Poona to Bombay where the new conquerors had been building their base over a long period. Advent of British rule, however, was not a natural result of the resolution of the inner tensions that had been troubling the Maratha social order in the preceding period. Imposition of British rule was an element of external violence that had forcibly intruded into Maratha social organism.

The old Mahārāshtra presented a social scene wherein the ways of behaviour continued with little change from generation to generation. The custom and not law governed the traditional Maratha behaviour. The social structure was hierarchical and the individual's place in the society was inherited and not achieved. The

cosmological concepts had instilled in the Maratha mind like the rest of the Indian mind in the mid-nineteenth century, an image of the world as conglomeration of uncontrollable forces that restrict and dominate the human life. The Marathas suffered from a fatalistic belief that empirical phenomenon occur for no knowable reason. They also believed that a divine power or some moral order controls man's destiny. In the socio-political life the Marathas displayed a preference for hierarchical structure with orders from above and obedience from below. The fatalistic view that an individual's position in social life is fixed for ever and belief in futility of any attempt to change it, were incorporated inthe traditional world outlook of the Marathas.

"Mahārāshtradharma" was the social ideology of the pre-British Mahārāshtra. What Rāmadās described as "Mahārāshtradharma" was a theistic-humanistic militant outlook that had evolved through the fusion of medieval Hinduism and Islam- a result of the encounter that took place between the forward looking Marathas and aggressive Turko-Afghan intruders. Like Bengāl, Mahārāshtra too had felt the deep impact of the influence of Islam. The Marathi language, customs, religion and culture were largely influenced by Muslim contact. But the political battle waged by the Marathas against the Muslim powers

deeply coloured their socio-political thinking. An impulsive hostility to Muslim domination had marked the Maratha political character. An aggressive hostility to a foreign creed characterised the Maratha attitude over a long period. This is one of the factors that distinguished Mahārāshtra from rest of the country, and especially from Bengal. The Bengali middle classes in the nineteenth century displayed rare capacity for absorbing the western influence. That explains partially the difference in the tempo of westernisation of the middle classes of Mahārāshtra and Bengāl.

One of the primary side-effects of the British conquest of Mahārāshtra related to the introduction of a social change whereby Mahārāshtra acquired, though in a very small measure, certain characteristics that marked the social and political scene in England. The most advanced among the Maratha intellectuals of this period saw in English political and social life the image of the future of their own land. Thus the new rulers transmitted to the conquered people the images or pictures of their future. Bāḷ Shāstrī Jāmbhekar, Lokahitawādī and Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth received the image and picture transmitted to them through English education as a matter of high priority for propogating it to the Marathi readers. Secularisation of cultural life,

commercialization and industrialization of the economic life, acceleration of the tempo of social mobility, diffusion of western education among the people, organisation of the political initiative of the masses, expansion of the popular involvement in the public life- these were the important conceptual ideas that gripped the mind of the Maratha intelligentsia in the mid-nineteenth century. The realization of these values was often halfhazard, uneven, incomplete and sometimes confused. But these were the concepts that were possessing the Maratha intellect during this period.[1]

The British regime, being an alien rule, had to rely upon the support of a section of the newly conquered population. From among those natives who were educated under English superintendence a fresh class had sprung up in Mahārāshtra to whom the British could look for collaboration. The new Maratha intelligentsia was middle class by character. The bulk of the new middle class was employed in the administrative apparatus. The professional classes of teachers, doctors, lawers and others also swelled the ranks of the new Maratha intelligentsia.

The Maratha intelligentsia displayed a dual tendency in its attitude to the British rulers. Psychologically it was difficult for the Marathas whose near

ancestors had fought numerous battles against the British, to offer collaboration and support to the administration of the East India Compny. An inner hostility to the English rulers formed an essential element of the psychological make up of the Maratha people as a whole. But the new middle class of Mahārāshtra was compelled to acknowledge the English education as the main vehicle of elevation and promotion in the new set up. This was the social origin of the relative collaborationist character of the Maratha intelligentsia during the rule of the East India Company. The native merchants of Bombay who had close connections with the British business world were the willing supporters of the British rulers.

A reluctant supporter of the new regime, the Maratha intelligentsia could never become as vociferous and ardent, as its Bengāli counterpart in admiring the virtues of British rule. The Bengāli intelligentsia, which was mostly Hindu in the early nineteenth century, had a special reason to welcome the British domination. The British rule had put an end to Muslim feudal domination in Bengāl. The Maratha intelligentsia did not suffer from this type of complex in relation to Muslims. The new Maratha intelligentsia, however, suffered from two historical vulnerabilities. Firstly it was mainly Brāhmanical in composition. Secondly it was initiated

into the current of modern European science and thought through the medium of a foreign language. These two factors restricted the social influence of the Maratha intelligentsia. The common people seldom felt the impact of the convulsions in the ideological world of the Maratha intelligentsia, during this period.

Much of the political thinking for this western educated class was done, in the initial stages, by the British rulers. The British thinking on Indian question varied from generation to generation. It had undergone distinctly two phases. In the earlier phase Sir William Jones and other liberal spirits had displayed high appreciation for the Indian civilization and institutions. With the dawn of the nineteenth century the British had developed a more critical and analytical view towards Indian culture. In 1615 James Mill produced, his work " The History of British India ". James Mill was the first great English thinker to have written a history of India. Mill's intellectual orientation as reflected in this book profounaly influenced the British civil service in India. Mill's main characterisation of the Indian culture was that beneath the shining veneer of Brahmin achievements lay a primitive and barbaric state of society held together from earliest times by despotism and priestcraft. He viewed " tyranny and not religion as the root evil of Hindu culture ". [2] Mill's History of

British India provided the civil servants of the Company in India the measuring rods for an evaluation of Indian civilization and culture.

Thus, the British rulers set the direction of the thought process of the new middle class of Mahārāshtra. With the passage of time the Marathi intelligentsia gathered sufficient experience to assert its own position vis-a-vus the rulers and began to think for itself. Out of the ideological assertion of the newly born Maratha intelligentsia, there grew up a host of new social and political concepts which finally culminated in the emergence of Indian nationalism of our times.

The ideological development among the British ruling circles during this period had a direct bearing on the methods and ideas of the British administrators in India. The British colonial system had not developed into the final phase of finance capital as yet. By the mid-nineteenth century Britain had begun to dominate the world trade. " This superior economic power, which found its expression in the doctrines of laissez faire and free trade, seemed so invincible to the new ruling class representatives of the British manufacturers that conceptions began to gain currency during the middle nineteenth century which dismissed the whole colonial system as superfluous extravagance and an absolete relic". [3]

This explains a brief period of British liberal policies in India in mid-ninsteenth century. In this period Britain tried to create a world after its own image wherever it had the levers of social and political control. In this period " missionaries of British civilization in India stood openly for a policy of assimilation. Britain was to stamp her image upon India".[4] The Act of 1833 granted certain concessions to the Indian subjects. It proclaimed: " No native shall by reason only of his religion, place, and birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place or employment under the said company ".[5] Macaulay pressed the key of this very liberal spirit when he stated in the House Of Commons on 10th July 1833: " It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age demand European institutions ... whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history ".[6]

In the wake of British rule whole range of western liberal thought came to the shores of Mahārāshtra. It is in the realm of ideology that the western educated Maratha intelligentsia made a real break with the past.

Promotion of natural science, the spirit of criticism and an attitude of questioning the wisdom of the inherited institutions, were the new elements in the emerging ideology. They were in direct negation with the traditional Maratha ideology. The spirit of other-worldiness, blind acceptance of the authority and respect for the age old institutions characterised the traditional Maratha ideology. Even before Mahārāshtra could imbibe the industrial technique and administrative methods of Europe, it displayed capacity to absorb the theoretical knowledge and philosophical ideas of Europe. In Mahārāshtra as in Bengāl, the new ideas from the west preceded the arrival of environmental conditions which had generated those ideas.

It is said that great thinking arises in periods of predicament and national catastrophes, when there arises a need for deep search for harmony amidst chaos and confusion. The painful realisation that the victory of the British arm was an inevitable result of the superiority of the British civilization led to a heart searching among the newly educated Maratha youth of the mid-nineteenth century. Just as the encounter between Hinduism and Islam in the 14th and 15th centuries resulted in the generation of Bhakti cult, the gigantic tussel between the old values of Indian culture and mechanised efficiency of the British civilization gave

birth to what is known as modern Indian Renaissance. Bengāl and Mahārāshtra were the major areas where modern Indian Renaissance gathered its early strength. Modern Indian bourgeois political philosophy is a part of this renaissance movement.

Political thinking in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra, like in other parts of India, bears the birth marks of a civilizational crisis. It has a pamphleteering character and less speculative value. It was pragmatic and empirical rather than scholastic. But that does not detract its historical importance. The mid-nineteenth century Maratha intelligentsia left an intellectual legacy that served as the foundation of the ideology of Indian nationalism of the later period. The ideas that struck the first generation of the western educated Marathas later became the widely shared and deeply seated convictions which led to the emergence of various political and social movements in Mahārāshtra.

Through the writings of Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar, Lokahitavadī, Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth, Maratha intellect celebrated a triumph of a new awakening. The Maratha intellect did not expand widely in all directions at once, and no gigantic, well proportioned and sophisticated contributions were made during this period. Men's thoughts are after all made according to their

inclination and capacity. Maratha intellectuals just made a start.

The awakening of the Maratha intellect possessed a freshness and vigour that stemmed from the newly roused social aspirations of the petti bourgeois class of the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. The new ideas in the Maratha mind represented perspectives which reflected the interests of the emerging classes in Maratha society. The phantoms formed in the Maratha brains were sublimates of their material life process.

English utilitarian thought cast a deep impact on the thinking of the emerging Maratha intelligentsia. The idea that man was born with equal capabilities and that actual inequality between men was due to educational and environmental differences, appealed to the Maratha intellect. Through the Utilitarian influence it gained the idea of a government which aimed at improvement through legislation. Bentham's idea that though man was moulded by environment, he could make himself, appealed to the Maratha intellect. The activist philosophy of Rāmadāsa was quite in tune with this idea.

Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar

Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar (1812-1846) was a product of British rulers' calculated policy of creating a native elite among the conquered people of Mahārāshtra. Endowed with western cultural values this native elite was prone to support the political tie between India and England. Native Education Society's institutions in the city of Bombay were the great fountains from which the blessings of the new education flowed for the people of western India. In the Junior College-School of this society Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar was employed as a lecturer. By the contemporary standards " Bāl Shāstri was a learned Brahmin, a modest and highly gifted individual... Small in person, diffident and unpretending in manner, Bāl Shāstri was yet no ordinary man ". [7] He was the first Indian to occupy the professorial chair in Elphinstone College.

In 1832 Bāl Shāstri started the Anglo-Marathi weekly, " The Bombay Durpun ", which remained the sole vehicle of Marathi public opinion till ten years later. [8] That the first Marathi newspaper was started in Bombay was a consequence of the series of events which had prepared that city to spring into an important position in the Indian subcontinent. The annexation of the

Deccan had materially contributed to the transformation of Bombay from an isolated British commercial town into the headquarters of a paramount power in Western India. Educated Maharashtrian community formed a recognised and important part of the newly grown population of Bombay. The first generation of Marathi students had passed from English schools when Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar launched the publication of the fortnightly " Bombay Durpun ". The first number was issued on the 6th January 1832. The paper continued to appear till 1842.

The leading articles which Bāl Shāstri wrote for this paper articulated the new awakening and stimulated the release of a new thought process in Mahārāshtra. Bāl Shāstri's " Bombay Durpun " was brought out with an avowed object of encouraging amongst his countrymen the pursuit of English literature and to open a field for free and public discussion on points connected with the prosperity of this country and the happiness of its inhabitants.[9]

Bāl Shāstri had reacted to the loss of Maratha freedom without much emotional involvement. British rule was a reality and something had to be done to make best possible use of it, he believed. A cool plea for a spirit of adjustment and accomodation between the British rulers and his countrymen is diffused in all

his writings. He believed that political progress was possible only by collaborating with the rulers and by sharing the benefits of the British constitutional set up.

Bāl Shāstri showed a remarkable awareness of India's stakes in the developing process of democratization then going on in England. He watchfully noted the fate of the Reform Bill then being discussed in the British Parliament. Writing under the title " England in a state of great political excitement ", Bāl Shāstri observed ", " We enter upon our undertaking at an eventful period. England, the country to which ours is subjected, is at present in a state of great excitement, in consequence of an endeavour to introduce a change in the state, the effect of which will be to increase the power of the ordinary ranks of society, and to diminish that which is at present possessed by individuals of the higher classes. This change is strenuously opposed by the men whose power will be diminished ".[10]

Parliamentary discussion of the Reform Bill had roused a wave of enthusiasm among the educated circles of Bengal. When the English middle classes achieved significant victories through a series of social reforms,

the Bengali intelligentsia greeted the news with cries of " Hail, Freedom, Hail ! ".[11] Bāl Shāstri's reaction to the passing of the Reform Bill was not accompanied with such rapturous glee or enthusiasm. In a cool calculating manner he weighed the significance of the event from the standpoint of Indian political prospects and wrote: " The great measure of Parliamentary Reform for which the people of England have been contending for two years, has at length been achieved... This country cannot but share eventually in the benefits which England so confidently expects from a reformed Parliament; when the fountain head is purified, the stream which flow from it will run clear ".[12]

The western education had brought the younger generation of mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra closer to the thought currents then sweeping the western world. Quite a range of western liberal thought and great European enlightenment were opened to those Indians who had taken to English education. This resulted in the unlocking of a thought process that stimulated a spirit of critical self-retrospection. A probe into the causes of intellectual stagnation and decay of the oriental culture became a dominant theme of the writings of this period. Bāl Shāstri was the first in Mahārāshtra to address an inquiry in this direction.

While commending the intellectual state of the western nations which capabled them for spectacular achievements in material life, Bāl Shāstri cautioned his readers against the tendency to attribute the European progress to " unscrutiable will of the supreme being ". He wrote: " Knowledge is not confined to a particular country and that the human nature is the same everywhere. History will show that the inhabitants of England, less than a thousand years ago, were less advanced in science as well as in literature, than the people of this country at present are ".[13]

The issue of East versus West had begun to agitate the mind of Maratha intelligentsia. Why did the old civilization of Asia had collapsed when confronted with the European civilization was the one single issue that absorbed a substantial part of the intellectual debate during this period. Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar posed this issue and answered it: " It is undeniable that the first light of knowledge dawned from the East on the West; and it is proved on authority equally unquestionable, that the Natives of Asia possessed the first rudiments of it thousand of years ago. It therefore excites our surprise to observe the difference between the perfection to which the arts and sciences have attained in Europe, and the very little

improvement which has been effected in them in Asia during such a long period." Bal Shastri then explains this paradox. " Whatever may be cause of this disproportionate intellectual advancement in these two quarters of the world, we feel assured, that one of them is that the advantages of knowledge have not been appreciated in this country in their proper light... Had the Asiatic philosophers bestowed the same attention on useful arts and sciences, as they have done on more abstruse and subtle branches of knowledge, such as Metaphysics and Logic, much more good might have been expected from their labours. But it appears that they regarded all knowledge as useful only in religion, or as a means of gaining victory in argument, and in no way connected with the common purposes of life. Hence the very little progress of the Hindus and Mahomedans in Mechanics, Geography, History, etc."[14]

Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar pleaded with his readers that a change of time and circumstances called for a necessity of relinquishing the established habits and mode of thinking. The change had swept off many of the ancient institutions. This should enduce the natives to bestow their attention on the useful arts and sciences, he stated. In his opinion the natives ought to gain

every acquisition, which had rendered European nations superior to Asiatics and from the want of which their country had so much suffered. Bāl Shāstri echoed the feelings and thoughts of his contemporary from Belgal, the editor of Reformer, whom he quoted at the end of his article: " The time is now arrived, when every nation must either rise in the scale of civilization or sink in the depths of contempt and misery. Prosperity in this age appears to be a term synonymous with civilization and the cultivation of the arts and sciences".[15]

The loss of political power had resulted in the displacement of the Deccan natives from the higher state offices. The exclusion of the natives from the higher state offices was the greatest single impediment for the new generation that was coming out of from the English schools. Bāl Shāstri in one of the earlier articles of Bombay Durpan had urged the British rulers to emulate the example of the ancient Romans whom he credited to have had left a great share of the administration of the subdued countries in the hands of the local people. He reminded the British rulers that Mountstuart Elphinstone had opined that both justice and fairplay required admission of the natives to the

superior offices in the state services.[16]

The Bombay Durpan of Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar not only articulated the aspirations of the educated middle class of Maharashtra but also made vocal the aspiring ambitions of the trading and mercantile community of Western India. In an article on the transit duties Bāl Shāstri put forth the demand for the abolition of all inland duties. He wrote: " The Bahadari or transit duties levied on goods passing from one district to another, from town to town and even from village to village - presented a great annoyance to the internal trade of the country."[17] In Bāl Shāstri's view the accumulation of the Bahadari duties was a natural effect of the selfish and shortsighted policy of the earlier rulers, each of whom endeavoured to raise as large a revenue as possible within the limits of his territory totally regardless of the effect of his exactions upon the inhabitants of the surrounding. " But now that one power claims for its subjects the people of those several states", he wrote, " and the separate and conflicting interests, which moved their former rulers, are blended into one, a system free from the vices of that which they adopted, seems to us not only feasible but expedient".[18] Bāl Shāstri

touched a dilicate issue of the British colonial policy when he added: "Independently of these, there are other objections and of a more serious nature. The duties are burthensom and partial. European goods are exempted and pass free, while native products and thereby native industry, which ought to be protected and encouraged, are heavily taxed. The very grain which the cultivator raises on land that pays a high rate of assessment is burthened with land customs at various stages on the way to market... Why should such a state of things continue, particularly in these times when trade is stagnant and distress so prevalent from want of employment?".[19] By posing the issue in this manner Bāl Shāstri anticipated that wellknown argument about the economic exploitation of India by the British capital which became the running theme of later Indian agitation against British imprialism.

Bāl Shāstri's political orientation had led him to adopt a critical attitude towards the princely states. Writing about the policy of the British Government towards native states he stated: "The right of interference is exercised for political purposes as is well known to our readers; and we do not know why it should not be exercised for the happiness of the people."[20] But he did not fail to display emotional attachment to

the Maratha kingdom of Satara on the occasion of the supersession of Pratapsing, the ruler of that State. He expressed his disappointment with the British decision to depose Pratāpsing.[21]

Bāḷ Shāstri's aversion to the activities of the Christian missionaries became evident when the residents of Madras were reported to have petitioned the Governor of that Presidency urging upon him the establishment of a college on a principle of non-interference with their religion. Bāḷ Shāstri lent his suport to their contention. He ridiculed the editor of Bombay Times over his remark that the scientific education has a natural tendency to shake the relgious faith of their children. Baḷ Shāstri retorted: "We may tell him that every one among us is fully aware of this; and that the natives are quite prepared for the consequences of a study of geography, astronomy etc. But they all wish that the mind, while thus freed from the hold of prejudices should be left to judge whether any other system of religion is more consonant with the discoveries of science than their own. Instead of converting to Christianity boys who know very little of the principles of their own faith and have no knowledge of English sufficient to understand the Bible much less to

comprehend the reasoning of the controversial books on Christian theology, and to compare its doctrines with their own various systems of belief, let people first learn the latter along with every branch of European literature and science, and if when they attain to manhood and are capable of forming a judgement on points of religion, embrace Christianity or any other creed; their parents will have no occasion to complain of them or their missionary instructors."[22]

Bāḷ Shāstri was the first among the western educated Marathas to theoretically pose the basic issues of his times and to that extent he was the First Modern among the Marathas.

Ideas of Economic Nationalism-Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth.

The germination of the ideas of economic nationalism in mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra found an eloquent expression in a Marathi booklet published in 1843. The title of the Marathi booklet was "Hindustānchi Prāchin Va Sāmpratchi Sthiti" - " Indian Scene, Past and Present". The author of the booklet was one Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth. The biographical data of Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth is not available. No other published work of the author has been traced so far.

Writing of a historical account of then prevailing conditions of his own people was beset with difficulties, the chief of which was political, he wrote. Referring to the available written accounts, he stated, "The whole range of writings is coloured by partisanship. Most of the authors were either servants of the East India Company or missionaries. They are onesided as they attempt to justify the British policies in India." He prefaces his work with an observation about the causes of the decline and fall of a civilization: "There is a universal law which operates in the fortunes of mankind. The law relates to the growth and decay of culture. When a materially affluent society gets sunk in an easy life, it is infected with a spirit of apathy towards the sustenance of the process of learning and assimilating. This infection causes the decline and collapse of a civilization. Every generation has to make wakeful efforts for the sustenance of cultural standards."[23]

Ramkrishna Vishwanath opens the main theme of the book with a bald proposition that the interests of the Indian people and the selfish designs of the European nations were antagonistic to each other.[24]

Economic selfreliance as the precondition for political independence was his main argument in support of his thesis that Indians themselves were to be blamed for the loss of their freedom. If Indian people desired to attain freedom, if they wished their own good, then they ought to stand on their own legs, he said.[25]

Comparing the state of Indian commerce prior to the British occupation with that of the one then prevailing he observed: "Indian manufactures during the Muslim period had attained considerable perfection and everywhere they were in demand. But the British policies have crippled the Indian capacity to manufacture finished goods. The British have resorted to the unfair measures in order to ensure markets for the European goods... In no other country the administration needs so urgently a radical shake up, as in India. The oppressive system that prevails in India has no parallel anywhere in the world. How long will this continue? How such a large population as our country's will find it possible to subsist? As long as vast drain of India's wealthflows out every year, the government go on rising the duties and taxes, the costly wars conducted by the Company continue, I see no relief for our people! " Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth further states: "It is futile to expect that things would improve with

the British help... The fact is that nothing can be achieved by relying on others. Improvement of the lot of the Indians is the task of the Indians themselves. That can be realised by augmenting our own resources, by creating new avenues for employment, by investing wealth in production, by assimilating the technical know how and by producing more and more ". [26]

The ruin of Indian trade and commerce as a result of British colonial policies is the recurring theme in the booklet: " England is a nation of commodity producers. All her policies are framed to boost the sales of their goods... The Indian market is flooded with British goods. Indian products are denied foreign markets. Indians must take up the issue seriously. They must emulate the British. They must build factories, erect machines, and produce abundance of goods ". [27] Rāmkrishna Vishvanāth further adds: " Once our people become adept in handling the machines they would soon steal a march over the rest of the peoples of Asia. Introduction of mechanised industry will be of far deeper significance than even a change in the political field. It would fruitfully contribute towards the regeneration of our people. The people will develop a taste for arts and technical progress. The need for various types of instruments will lead to the

founding of various industries. But above every thing, our people will develop a new consciousness. The idea of people's welfare will catch the popular mind. That will be a new thing in our history ". [23]

Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth's pen bursts into eloquence in painting the glorious prospects for the Indian people if they were to take to the path of industrial regeneration: " If our people take to industrial enterprise, our public life will bear desirable transformation. Prosperity will replace poverty, and scarcity will be replaced by plenty. Our villages and cities will receive a facelift. Our agriculture will revive. Cargo boats will once more move through our rivers. Highways will throb with nationwide traffic. Millions of our people will get jobs. If we could only effect such a change, we shall be saved of an indignity to watch our raw materials being exploited and the same returning to us in the shape of finished goods... Nature has bestowed on our land bountiful favours. If only we could make use of them. Nothing in the world is static. Static is only a mathematical concept. In nature and life everything is in a state of flux. Change is the eternal law ". [29] Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth therefore pleaded for generating a wind of change in the social life. More eloquent expression of the inceptual

economic nationalism cannot be cited from any other writing of this period.

Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth assailed the British educational policies from the standpoint of economic nationalism. " The English schools are now attracting vast number of students. But the students passing out from these schools will find it utterly difficult to secure their livelihood. The Company's Government does not admit natives to the higher posts. The education imparted to the students does not prepare them for an independent career. Very small number of students turning out from schools will be absorbed in the clerical staff. And most of the students are not fit for any other vocation. Adding to this a growing number of sons of workers and artisans are taking to English education. They are being trained to fill up clerical posts. They will soon find it difficult to join the profession of their forefathers. Less number of available jobs and more number of needy hands - this situation will also adversely affect the wage structure of the government employees ". [30] He was however happy about the increasing social mobility resulting from the process of modernisation of the productive forces. He wrote: " The signs of change are already in sight. Our social institutions are shaping differently than what

they were in the past. Caste rigidity in the professional matters is slowly being undermined. Our Muslim, Parsi and Anglo-Indian brethren have already moved along the channel of professional mobility. By and by Hindus have also begun to feel its impact. The relations between the Europeans and the natives are not still so intimate as they should be. The distance that keeps the two communities must be reduced. Closer ties between the two communities will help the Hindus immensely ". [31]

Further stress on ideas of economic nationalism

The ideas of economic nationalism were put forth with a sustained vigour by the Marathi weekly " Prabhākar " edited by Bhāu Mahājan. Bhāu Mahājan was a close colleague of Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar. Bhāu Mahājan represented a new genre of public worker in Mahārāshtra. The first professional journalist, Bhāu Mahājan blazed a new trial of awakening in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. " Prabhākar " was ideologically richer and livelier than " Bombay Durpun ". Through the columns of " Prabhākar " Marathi readers were brought closer to the currents of contemporary European political awakening. Political situation in Britain, French Revolution, the affairs of the Sātārā state, the arrogant behaviour of the British bureaucrats were

some of the themes of the articles in " Prabhākar ". " A Century of Letters " - " Shatapatre " of Lokahitavādī was serialised in " Prabhākar " during 1848-1880.

Bhāu Mahājan displayed an independent spirit and a critical outlook on the social and political issues of his time. Though an ardent champion of western education, Bhāus' enthusiasm for the western learning was tempered with a legitimage sense of pride in the achievements of Indian culture. He struck a golden mean between uncritical admiration for western culture and a blind adoration of Indian heritage. He extolled the achievements of the British administration, but he had the courage to point out its negative aspects. Popular grievances and complaints against the British bureaucracy freely occupied the columns of the " Prabhākar ". About the economic results of the British rule he candidly wrote: " India can never prosper unless the passing out of its wealth is stopped. There is much evidence to prove that England takes away wealth from India. If the Indian money does not pass out to England, then how could one account for the unfavourable foreign trade balance which India suffers to the tune of twenty five millions every year ? " .[32]

The most devastating attack on the British policies came from one Bhāskar Pāndurang Tarkhadkar, who in 1841, wrote in one of the issues of "Bombay Gazette" : "If I were to give you credit for having saved us from the Pendaris and Ramoshis, your trading system stands in the way which has indeed more effectually emptied our purses in a few years than the predatory excurssions of these tribes could do in some five or six hundred years. In short it must be acknowledged that your progress in cunning and craftiness has kept pace with your advancement in knowledge and wisdom. To say that the country taken possession of by a horde of foreign usurpers, whose sole aim is to enrich themselves at the expense of its real masters, is prospering under them, is as absurd as to conclude that a town left at the tender mercies of a gang of robbers is enjoying all the advantages of peace and security inspite of their depredations and oppressions. We cannot look upon you government in any other light than that of the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with. The whole wealth of India has now been transported to Great Britian and we have no employment left to us."[33] The close resemblance between Tarkhadkar's argument and Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth's presentation of the issue of

British economic exploitation of India is striking.

Lokahitavādī

A sustained campaign for ideological remoulding of the new generation was conducted by Gōpal Hari Deshmukh popularly known as Lokahitavādī - "Champion of people's interests" (1823-1892). Lokahitavādī belonged to a Brahmin Jagirdar family who had lost their estates after the British take over on account of their loyalty to the Peshwa. After graduating from an English school of Poona, he joined the judicial service of the Bombay Government. Bāḷ Shāstri Jāmbhekar and Bhāu Mahājan had commenced their public activities in the city of Bombay. Lokahitavādī's field of early public activity was in the city of Poona. Bombay was a city free from pre-British influences. The intellectual climate of the two cities differed in temper. Newly born intelligentsia of Bombay was stirring with new ideas. The atmosphere in the city of Poona was charged with nostalgic memories of the Marāṭha rule. The old order was dead but the new one was yet to take shape. The old Brahmanical leadership had not yet grasped the significance of the new political reality. In the meantime newly started English

schools began to produce a generation of young people who learnt a cosmology and universal history which neither the Dharmashastras nor Dasabodha could explain. At this hour Gopāl Hari Deshmukh began to write in the columns of "Prabhākar" under the penname "Lokahitavādī".

What began as a journalistic comment on the topical issues finally turned out to be a new ideology which presented a critique of the traditional Maratha society and polity. Lokahitavādī published about hundred and eight articles in the columns of "Prabhakar". These articles are collectively known as "Shatapatre" - " a century of letters". In a loose, informal and at times shapeless style, Lokahitavādī had a heart to heart talk with the young Marathi readers. "Shatapatre" do not convey effusions of a sophisticated and subtle mind, nor do they suggest a deep acquaintance with the European political theory. But they clearly express the intellectual stirrings in the mid-19th century Mahārāshtra. "Shatapatre" articulated the ideology of the newly Maratha petti-bourgeois intelligentsia.

Lokahitavādī was a prolific writer. He has to his credit scores of published works. His active public life spans about forty five years - 1848 to 1892.

Much of his published writings go beyond the purview of the present study. The "Shatapatre" however belong to the period under review and as such need a critical examination.

Publication of "Shatapatre" was a landmark in the ideological evolution of Modern Mahārāshtra. "Shatapatre" represented a vigorous outburst of the new social insights acquired by the western educated scholars of Mahārāshtra. Through them the mid-19th century Mahārāshtra received the generalised experience of the first western educated generation of Western India. Each letter was a powerful shaft directed against old ideas, habits, prejudices and institutions. The issues that Lokahitavadi raised in these letters included such themes as: Why the Marathas lost contest with the British? What lay behind the decay of Hindu civilization, what were the possible and desirable lines of political development for the Indian people? Lokahitavādī addressed the power of his intellect and the passion of his pen to clarify these issues to the Marathi readers.

Lokahitavādī believed that political progress could be achieved by co-operating with the British. He envisaged the salvation of Indian people in the

reconstruction of their social and political life on the model provided by the West. He was influenced by the English utilitarian thought. His criticism of the traditional Indian life and civilization was strongly influenced by the utilitarian ideas. Old ideas, institutions and classes had no positive functions in the changing times; they were acting as fetters on the development of the Indian society; they had outlived their existence and therefore they must go, he thought.

He welcomed the introduction of western education as a necessary substitute for the traditional Indian system of learning. He exposed the thorugh degeneration of the old feudal class and its priestly supporters. He characterised the feudal class and priestly order as parasatic. He looked to the vigorous growth of an enterprising commercial class as a necessary prerequisite for the regeneration of the Indian social life. It is in this respect that Lokahitavādī was the first systematic bourgeois ideologue of modern Mahārāshtra. It may, however, be stressed that he cultivated the modern bourgeois point of view through the prism of ideology and not through any selfish temporal interests. "Man is distinct from and best among animals" and "All men are equal" -

these two ideas were diffused in all his writings. By making man the measure of all social values, Lokahitavadi elevated his contemporary cultural life from metaphysical to dynamic plane, from medieval to modern. Lokahitavādī was a utilitarian democrat who stood for diversting the secular life of Mahārāshtra of metaphysical concepts of castebased social ideology.

Lokahitavādī was the first radical in Mahārāshtra who explained the contemporary Indian political scene in the global context. He displayed considerable awareness of what was happening in the different parts of the globe. He looked at the problem of India's political and social regeneration in the context of global movements for social transformation.

Lokahitavadi's Shatapatre appeared in the columns of Prabhākar at a time when the advanced educated circles in Mahārāshtra were stirring with new ideas. India's servitude, its economic exploitation by the British capital, indignation against social inequality, need for liberal moral values and appreciation of western learning were the very issues which were being discussed by the newspapers in Mahārāshtra in thirties and forties. In 1842, a

letter had appeared in the columns of "Prabhākar" under the penname "Kokanastha", which gave a cogent and well reasoned critique of the traditional Maratha social order. Lack of analytical and critical intellect, absence of well trained armies, disuity among the native powers and the Brahmanical leadership, were some of the factors listed by the "Kokanastha" which in his view had resulted in the loss of India's independence. This was the climate of Maratha public opinion when Lokahitavādī commenced his writings in the "Prabhakar".

Lokahitavādī began his attack on the age old Maratha institution by critically estimating the role of the traditional Maratha leadership. In one of the letters he wrote: "One of the reasons of our backwardness is that we don't have sufficient number of newspapers. Printed word has a great power. It creates an enlightened public opinion. If India had a network of mail and printing press, then the foreigners would not have ventured to foot on India soil". Lokahitavādī blamed the Brahminical leadership for this failure.[34] In another letter he castigated the Brahminical leadership. "Brahminical leadership has left a damaging effect on our social life. If the

social leadership was exercised by the Kunbis or any Kshatriya caste, much of the evil consequences would have been avoided. The Brahmins lack a broad outlook, they lack spirit of comparison and analysis".[35]

His intellectual antipathy towards the traditional Hindu caste society made him debunk the Brahminical leadership: "The Hindu Dharmashastras recognise and justify the caste system. But the ancient Hindu practice and later Hindu traditions militate against the spirit of Dharmashāstras. There are many instances, in ancient Indian history, of change in the caste status as a result of change in profession. There is a strong case for flexibility in the matters. The rigidity of Hindu caste system must go. Not birth but profession should determine one's caste."[36]

Lokahitavādī attributed the dicline of Hindu civilization to an eightfold cause - (1) linguistic barrier between the learned and the common man. (2) dogmatic axioms of the Hindu scriptures (3) hierarchical social system (4) lack of dynamic ideas (5) superstitious beliefs (6) fatalism (7) inborn tendency to cling to old ways and (8) confusion of dharma with the custom.[37]

Though Lokahitavādī had welcomed the British rule as an instrument of divine dispensation, he had the vision to predict a day-"When Indian people will loose their chains, they will spread all over the world for trade. They will acquire learning and will be happy. Once our people are enlightened they will urge the Englishmen to grant them a Parliament. Once the people begin to sit in the hall of parliament; they will steadily rise on their feet and tell the English - "Now we are at par with you in wisdom and learning; why should we not have political authority?" When majority of Indian people reach this stage, then British Government will be compelled to grant political power to Indians.... American drama will be reenacted in India. Indian people would free themselves and tell the British to go home This will take about 200 years. But this is bound to happen".[33] Lokahitavadi had correctly forseen the stages of Indian freedom struggle. Only his time table of the Indian liberation was shortened by a hundred years!

In another letter Lokahitavādī had put forth a two tier plan for the popular mobilization in the direction of national regeneration: "There is no point

in lamenting over the bygone days. English rule is a reality. What is needed is a well thought out plan for fighting the poverty of the people... On the political plane people should demand formation of a Parliament at Bombay and Calcutta. On the economic plane people should stop purchasing the English manufactured goods. They should produce those goods in India."[39]

Lokahitavādī was occasionally prone to indulge in light hearted political speculation. He envisaged two probabilities which might result in the easly dawning of Indian independence. If a quarrel was to arise between the East India Company and the British Government or the Governor General was to usurp the power and insisted on its retention , that would ensure a good opportunity for Indias, he hinted. In case such event occurred the Englishmen in India would not mind sharing power with Indians; and within a short time Englishmen in India would be absorbed in India's social and political life, he suggested.[40]

While Lokahitavādī envisaged the inevitable dawn of Indian freedom he was opposed to any suggestion of overthrowing the rule of the East India Company in the immediate future. He counselled for

building up an agitation for the redressal of people's grievances instead of any violent bid for evicting the English from the country.[41]

The most relevant element in the thought of Lokahitavādī was his idea of economic nationalism which he had put forth very boldly in an article under the title "Indian Trade". Lokahitavadi held the British commercial policy responsible for the ruin of India's trade and commerce. British manufactured goods had driven out the Indian products from the market. Lokahitavadi suggested a radical remedy: "The Indians should organise themselves into a political compact, and hatch a plot of bycotting the foreign produced goods. People enter into a solemn agreement that they would purchase only the goods produced in India; even if those goods were rough".[42]

He recommended to his readers to draw a lesson from the French history. He worte: "In France the people rose in revolt against the tyrannical rule of the king and against unjust taxation. The intellectuals and students joined the people, overthrew the French monarchy and founded a republic."[43] He however desisted from giving a call for rebellion.

He invoked the popular spirit of agitation. A civil servant of theCompany could not go beyond that point.

Vishnubāva Brahmachāri

The new ideology in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra was an intellectual phenomenon largely confined to the western educated middle class. The programme of social reform which the new thinkers had placed before the Marathi intelligentsia did not call for a radical reorganisation of the social structure. Jāmbhekar, Lokahitavādī, Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth and others who represented the new intellectual stirrings, wanted a fusion into the existing Indian social structure of the bourgeois values which they had learnt from the West. They spoke about the disabilities inflicted on the people of Mahārāshtra by the British colonial rule. But they had no programme for the benefit of underprivileged social and economic classes. This was a serious lacuna in the new ideology. An man who could make up this gap made his appearance in the fifties. A Sanyasi named Vishnubāva Brahmachāri struck a distinct intellectual note which seperates him from his contemporaries. Vishnubāva Brahmachāri (1825-1871) took the city of

Bombay by storm in 1868 when he conducted a war of wits with the Christian missionaries. In seventies he came out with ideas of utopean socialism.

Vishnubāva Brahmachāri was born at Shirvali, district Kolaba in 1825. His original name was Vishnu Bhikāji Gokhale. The hardships of a povertystricken Brahmin family disabled him for a formal scholling. He joined the Customs Department of the East India Company when he was a boy of fourteen. For seven years he worked as a clerk in the Customs Department. He closely watched the transactions of the East India Company onthe western sea coast during the early years of British rule. He never had a formal schooling, but he possessed a religious and literary inclinations, which involved him in the reading of traditional Marathi literature.

When he was 23, Vishnubāva felt an inner urge to renounce the temporal world and in a typical Indian way he resigned his job and left for the leafy mountains "in search of truth". Later he claimed that during his stay at Saptshringi mountain, near Nasik, he received a "heavenly mandate" to preach a true religion to the people of his country. He lived at

Pandharpur, the main religious centre of Mahārāshtra, from 1853 to 1856, and relearnt the traditional Marathi folklore and literature. Three years of ardous studies at Pandharpur did for him what the earlier wanderings had not done. He acquired a sense of mission. He was possessed by the idea of defending Hinduism against the growing menace of Christain missionaries.

The Charter Act of 1813 had provided the ground for the Christian Missions to spread their network in the territories of the East India Company. The American, Scottish and English missionaries had built a number of mission centres in Thana, Kolaba, Poona, Satara, Nasik, Ahmednagar and Dhulia districts in Western Mahārāshtra. Christian missionaries had succeeded in converting a number of Hindus to Christianity. Conversion of Narayan Sheshadri, Baba Padamanji, Karmarkar, Modak and other families had disturbed the Hindu mind.

During his stay at Pandharpur Vishnubāva sharpened his wits which he used, in his disputations with the Christian missionaries. It was at Pandharpur that he wrote his first book " Bhavārtha Sindhu " - " Sea of Devotion ". In this work Vishnubāva sought to reinterpret some of the humanistic elements of ancient Hindu ethics and religion. Vishnubāva had no formal education and therefore he could not feel any direct

impact of the western bourgeois ideology then sweeping Europe. He is a solitary example of a purely indigenous growth of intellect in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. He began his public life in 1853 as a crusader against the Christian missionaries; and towards the close of his life he rejected the traditional class ridden society and gave an open call for building a universal brotherhood of mankind on the basis of collective ownership of all means of production. He was the first utopean socialist of India.

In 1866 Vishnubāva arrived in Bombay. His book " Bhāvārtha Sindhu " had already established his reputation as a young Hindu enthusiast who stood for defence of Hinduism against Christian missionaries. In this work Vishnubāva preached the principle of universality of " right knowledge ", which he insisted cut across the boundaries of nations and states. In his view Bhakti or devotion was an essential component of " right knowledge ". Vishnubāva thereby restressed an important teaching of the saint poets of Mahārāshtra who had attacked the rigidity of the caste system and elevated the position of plebians and women in spiritual life.

Before his arrival in Bombay Vishnubāva had visited number of towns and cities in western India,

delivering sermons, holding disputations, denouncing the Hindu superstitions. He drew large crowds wherever he went. In Bombay thousands thronged to listen to his talks in defence of what he described as the true religion of the Vedas. His public disputations with the Christian missionaries drew large audiences at the sea beach in Bombay. A Christain missionary paid a grudging tribute to Vishnubāva's dabating skill.[44] He also held public disputations with the Brahmin scholars on the question of Hindu widow's remarriage. Quite a heat was generated in this public dabate, and Vishnubāva had come out forthright in favour of remarriage of Brahmin widows. This had enraged the orthodox Brahmin opinion against him.[45]

In 1853 Vishnubāva wrote a book " Vedokta Dharmaprakāsh "- " Light of the Vedic Religion ". The book which was published the next year, runs into more than seven hundred pages. The book contains an ommibus treatment of the several ideas that Vishnubāva had been preaching to his audiences in the preceding years. The modern reader will get exasperated to go through a wild and unsystematic array of arguments and ideas spread throughout the book. The book contains lot of superflous. But occasionally one observes sporadic outburst of some deep insights in the book.

Vishnubāva devoted one full chapter for a discussion of an ideal polity. In his view following principles should guide the working of a good government: " (1) No office of state should be made hereditary. A person who is widely travelled, who is well conversant with the public needs, and who combines intelligence with efficiency should be nominated to higher state offices irrespective of his caste or social status; (2) State should provide employment to people by opening new factories; (3) No taxes be levied on land, edibles, wood and water as they are the gifts of nature. (4) Devanagari script should be made official script for whole of India (5) No distinction be made between castes in law suits. (6) Magic and witchcraft be made a punishable offence. (7) Any person refusing to arrange for the education of his children should be penalised ". [46]

Vishnubāva wrongly but passionately held that Vedic polity was based on these principles. He also believed that the religion of Vedas provided salvation for the entire mankind. He anticipated most of the arguments of Swami Dayānand Saraswatī who worked out the Arya Samajist ideology in the later period.

In 1867 Vishnubāva wrote a small booklet " Sukhadayak Rājyaprakarnī Nibandh " - " An Essay On

Welfare State ", wherein he propogated the idea of abolition of private property. He advocated replacement of private possessions by collective ownership of the means of production. This work, however, goes beyond the purview of the present study. Vishnubāva's life and preachings set him apart from all other public figures of his time in Mahārāshtra. He was a revivalist who wanted to recapitulate what he regarded as a dynamic element in the Vedic past. But he wanted to recapture the past in order to build a better future. Though revivalist he was not reactionary. He did not leave behind either any institution or a organised group of disciples. He was too much individualistic and eccentric a person. But he was the first in Mahārāshtra to have put the question of doing away with private property and its replacement by collective life, on the programmatic agenda of the social reform movement in Mahārāshtra. Till the rise of modern working class movement in Mahārāshtra, nobody paid any attention to his ideas of utopean socialism. He looked ahead of his generation.

Temper, trend and impact of new thought.

The process of shaping of popular opinion and ideas is an enormously complicated phenomenon. Political opinion and political ideas are often interwoven. This

was true also of mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. The general direction of the Maratha political opinion and its intensity veered round the issue of desirability or undesirability of the foreign rule. It is difficult to identify the modal point of Maratha public opinion and ideas on this issue, but it may safely be said that the most stable element in the popular thinking of this period can be recognised in the persistent ventilation of grievances against the prevailing conditions. The political ideas were shaped to this particular psychological wavelength of the people.

The new ideas reflected the evolution of a swiftly changing society in western Mahārāshtra. The educated circles of Mahārāshtra became aware of their own situation in a process of social and political change. The writings of Jambhekar, Lokahitavādī and others largely contributed towards this awareness. The men who edited papers, wrote tracts were conditioned by their surroundings. They wrote in conditions of cultural crisis and the image of the political scene in the West provided them a vision of positive alternatives to the traditional pattern of social values.

The emerging political ideas can be grouped broadly in four categories: (1) ideas of critical and

rational adaptation (2) ideas of economic nationalism (3) ideas of radical social change and (4) ideas of Hindu revivalism. It is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between these four categories partly because ideas often intermingle and partly due to the fact that the overwhelming shift in favour of egalitarian concepts was shared by all shades of Maratha opinion in this period.

Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar initiated the intellectual query about the causes of cultural stagnation of Asian civilization and recommended secularizatation of learning and knowledge for eliminating the cultural throwback that Asians have suffered through neglect of science. Jāmbhekar also transmitted to his readers the awareness of India's stakes in the developing process of democratization then going on in England. Jāmbhekar stimulated a spirit of critical self-introspection and tried to infect faith in the inevitable spread of enlightenment among his people. He represented the trend of ideas that can be described as critical accomodation and rational adaptation.

Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth in the single tract that he left for posterity, fathered a political trend that based its criticism of British Colonial administration in terms of economic gains and losses for the

conquered people. Economic nationalism later became an important dimension of Indian political argument against the British colonial system. The political ideas of Dādābhāi Naoroji and Gopāl Krishna Gokhale received their sustenance mainly from the rationale of economic nationalism. Bāṃkrishna Vishwanāth thus holds the credit for having initiated an important trend of Indian political philosophy.

Lokahitavadi laid in his writings an emphasis on radical social change. He ridiculed the old feudal social elements and their Brahmanical supporters. The most radical element in Lokahitavadīs preaching was his call to his compatriots to forge a political resolve to bycot the foreign produced goods. He anticipated thereby the 'boycot foreign goods' slogan of laterday Indian nationalism.

Vishnubāvā Brahmachārī is historically important because he was the first among the Marathas to have discovered a secular concept of golden age in the Vedic times. There was lot of fantasy and triffle in Vishnubāva's historical imagination. He lacked sophistication of style and expression. But among the mid-19th century Marathas, it was Vishnubāva who embodied in his writings the modern India's cultural self-image - the image imparted by the

rediscovery of heritage of Indian antiquity. Vishnubāva was free from any tinge of religious chaunism nor he had any anti-Muslim bias in his revivalism.

The social origin and environmental bias of the new thought had imposed certain limitations on the functional uses of the new political ideas. The intellectual ferment represented by new political thought was confined mainly to the western educated Brahmin middle class. The newspapers and tracts through which these ideas were transmitted to the people, had a very small circulation. The exponents of new ideas, therefore, could not generate any mass-based political movement. The rural poors remained outside the realm of impact of new ideas.

The vigorous growth of public opinion and agitation was the feature of public life in Mahārāshtra in the latter period of 19th century. The chief interest of mid-19th century lies in the fact that a sound foundation of public opinion was laid and issues of political desting were broadly raised and discussed. The impact of the new ideas, however, was clearly reflected in the formation of Bombay Assoication which marked the beginning of a new epoch in the political awakening and agitation in the country. To that

extent the new political ideas proved historically significant.

Mahārāshtra And Bengal

Mahārāshtra and Bengal shared many things in common in the early 19th Century. Mahārāshtra and Bengal absorbed western influence more deeply than other regions of India. But the new movement of thought did not follow the same lines of growth in Mahārāshtra and Bengal. A few facts of history and popular temperament shaped the difference between the thought movements in these two regions.

The Maratha political imagination was coloured by the memory of Maratha political domination. An assertive and aggressive tone often marked the Maratha political argument. In Bengal the remarkable blossoming of composite culture based on fusion of Islam and Bhāgwat Dharma had given a deep shade of tenderness to Bengali character. The emotional string of Bensali argument presented a contract to the cold calculations of Maratha reason.

The western influence was also more deeply felt by Bengal by virtue of early British conquest.

The assertive existence of the Maratha state had kept the English confined to Bombay island for over a century and half. In Bengal the British had penetrated deep into the social life. These two factors functioned as the main cause of difference in shaping of certain shades of political outlook in these two regions.

The feature that distinguishes Mahārāshtra from Bengal in the realm of political idealogy during this period relates to Maratha insistence on analysing the economic and social significance of the British rule. While Mahārāshtra partly shared Bengal's enthusiasm for western liberal values, the Maratha mind could not easily forget the political subordinate status that the British had imposed on Indians. Maratha political mind rated political liberty above social gains. Herein lies the strength as well as weakness of the Maratha renaissence of mid-19th century

Notes

1. The ideological impact of the western contact was described by Ramkrishna Vishwanath: "Introduction of mechanised industry will be of far deeper significance than even a change in the political affairs. It would fruitfully contribute towards the regeneration of our people... But above everything our people will develop a new consciousness The idea of people's welfare will catch the popular mind. That will be a new thing in our history. "Ramkrishna Vishwanath: Hindustranchi Prachin Va Sampratchi Sthiti; Bombay 1343, P.90.

2. Kopf,David: British Orientalism And The Bengal Renaissance; Berkely and Los Angeles, California, 1959, P.240.

3. Dutt, R.P.: Crisis of Britiain And The British Empire; Lawrence And Wishart Ltd., London, 1957, Pp.72-73.

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6. Ibid., P.265.

7. Mrs. Postans: Western India in 1838; London 1839,P.47.

8. Natarajan,S:A History of Press In India, Asia Publishing House, London, 1962, P.61.

9. Prospectus of the Bombay Durpun, 6th January 1832.

10. Bombay Durpun, 6th January 1832.

11. Ghosh,Benoy:"The Bengal Intelligentsia and the Revolt"; in "Rebellion 1857", Ed. P.C.Joshi, Delhi, 1957, P.116.

12. Bombay Durpun, October 6, 1832.

13. Ibid., March 2, 1832.

14. Ibid., August 24, 1832.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid, April 13, 1832.

17. Ibid., November 23, 1832.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., April, 7, 1837.

21. Ibid., April 6, 1839.

22. Ibid., February , 1840.

23. Ramkrishna Vishvanath: "Hindustanchi Prachin Va Sampratchi Sthiti, Bombay 1843, P.3-5. A lithoscript of this work is in the rare manuscripts section of the Mumbai Granthasangrahalaya, Dadar, Bombay, Pp.3-5.

24. Ibid. P.12.

25. Ibid. P.14.

26. Ibid. Pp.84-86.

27. Ibid. P.90.

28. Ibid. P.97.

29. Ibid. Pp.102-103.

30. Ibid. P.87.

31. Ibid. P.103.

32. Quoted by V.K.Joshi, : Vruttapatrancha Itihas, P.30.

33. Quoted by R.C.Majumdar: British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Part II Pp.466-67; Bharatiy Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7, 1965.

34. Lokahitavadi: Shatapatre, edited by N.R.Inamdar, Poona, Pp.90-91.

35. Ibid. Pp.112-113.

36. Ibid. P.221.

37. Ibid. P.278.

38. Ibid. Pp.286-289.

39. Ibid. Pp.289-292.

40. Ibid. Pp.295-298.

41. Ibid. Pp.289-292.

42. Ibid. Pp.339-341.

43. Ibid. Pp.264-265.

44. Bowen, G.: Samudrakinaricha Vadavivada; Vide my article on Vishnubava Brahmachari, in Manus, weekly, Poona, November 1967, P.36.

45. Vide my article in Manus; Poona, November,25,1967, P.36.

46. Ibid. Pp.37-39.

Chapter VI

New Stirrings And Political Agitation

New political movements in mid-19th century Mahārāshtra grew out of new intellectual stirrings experienced by the western educated middle class. No bird, it is said, soars too high if it soars with its own wings. Newly awakened Maratha political spirit was to fly with the borrowed wings of western ideas and institutions. Though the strength and success of the new social movements depended on borrowing the aid of elements that had evolved in Europe, the tempo and tone of the Maratha awakening was set by the indigenous factors, the chief of which pertained to character of the people involved in this movement. Broadly speaking the new consciousness of the Maratha intelligentsia shaped its observable political behaviour. The policies of the British rulers also functioned as a conditioning factor in the making of political awakening and agitation.

The British colonial rule proved instrumental in the creation of a multilingual, multireligious native mercantile community in the city of Bombay in

the early nineteenth century. Together with the native merchant class of Bombay the Maratha intelligentsia worked for the political awakening in the mid-nineteenth century. The formation of Bombay Association marked the culmination of the multiferous activities of the native merchants and the western educated men. This political initiative of the emerging classes was preceded by a number of developments in the socio-economic milieu of western India.

Prior to the collapse of the Maratha power the economy of Bombay had developed in artificial isolation from the economic life of Mahārāshtra. By the end of eighteenth century Bombay was transferred into a main commercial and military base of the East India Company in western India. Because of the resistance put forth by the Marathas to the British expansion the East India Company was compelled to enter into commercial transactions with the native merchants. This led to the formation of close commercial bonds between the East India Company and the native merchants. At the beginning of 18th century local trade of Bombay was mainly in the hands of the East India Company. In 1805 sixteen of the leading commercial firms in Bombay were owned by the Parsee merchants, fifteen by the

Hindu Gujarathi bania, four by the Bohras while only five firms were owned by the British, three by the Americans and three by the Portuguese.[1]

The industrial revolution, already completed in Britain introduced the exploitation of India by methods of industrial capitalism in the early nineteenth century. The change in the method of exploitation implied transference of Indian continent into a market for British manufactured goods. Bombay was gradually turned into a centre of trade in western India. The city became the "gateway to India" through which British factory made goods flowed into western and southern India, especially, textiles and metal wares; while caravans of buffalo-drawn carts with cotton began to move in the opposite direction from central India and Gujarat in 1820's.[2] With the development of trade, an increasing number of Indians became involved in European business set up and more and more Indians acted as brokers for European importers.[3] In the early nineteenth century, China and Eastern trade had developed tremendously. Every year ships from Bombay carried cotton and bullion and returned with tea, sugar, porcelain and silk. These ships

were made in Indian shipyards where the Parsi Wadias had earned reputation for building quality ships. The cargo in the ships were obtained mainly from the Indian finance and the trade was called the country or the Asiatic trade.[4]

The charter Act of 1833 gave a stumulus to the expansion of exports and imports. The removal of transit or inland duties imposed by each of the Presidencies, further strengthened the inland trade. The abolition of these and other restrictions enabled Bombay to outstrip Bengal, especially in the export trade of cotton. Of the total export of Indian cotton amounting to 165,655,220 Lbs. in 1849 Bombay contributed 130,784,963 Lbs.[5] While the trade was opened in 1833, India was not exposed to the consequences of unlimited colonization by the Europeans. The East India Company was opposed to indiscriminate colonization. Colonization thus remained limited to purposes of superintendence and direction. Total number of European residents in Bombay Presidency was 1596 in the year 1852.[6] The people who benefited from the policy of restricted European colonization and largely grown European trade were the Indian middlemen. A class of affluence had thus emerged in Bombay which was native

in composition but tied to the apron strings of British capital, from the days of its very inception. This newly born class of affluence and wealth in the city of Bombay was known as Shetias. The Community of Shetias was chiefly composed of Parsis, Gujarathis, Muslims and Marathas. Among these Shetias, Parsis formed a large and enterprising part. Greater part of China trade was in the hands of the Parsi Shetias. [7]

The collaboration between the British financiers and the native merchants of Bombay in the commercial sphere led to a political unison between the two for a considerable period. By the end of eighteenth century, an institution of joint petitioning by the Indians and Europeans was firmly established. This inter-class collaboration grew into an organised movement, when in 1836 Bombay Chamber of Commerce was founded. The initiative for the formation of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce came from John Skinner, an English merchant. The Chamber when founded was composed of Europeans and Indians. [8] The newly arrived European merchants were a new class of enterprising traders who differed from the officials of the East India Company in their economic beliefs. They preached the theory of free trade which clashed

with the interests of the East India Company. The Charter Act of 1833 had granted all British traders to carry unrestricted trade in India. The free traders of the British origin thus stimulated the first independent political activity of Indo-British bourgeois collaboration by founding the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce was the joint platform of the British free traders and their Indian collaborators. During the first twentyfive years of its existence the chamber endeavoured to foster agricultural improvement, to develop means of communication, to influence tarrif policy, to secure the merchantile interests of Bombay's European merchants. In 1861 the Bombay Chamber of Commerce received active encouragement from Manchester Chamber of Commerce to take up the question of cotton cultivation. Alexander Mackay was deputed by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to inquire into the impediments which thwarted an increased production of cotton in India. He addressed a special meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and blamed the poverty of ryots, mischievous interference of the middlemen and bad roads for poor production of Indian cotton.[9]

Jamsetjee Jejeebhai, Framji Cowasji, Mahomed Ali Roghey, Jagannāth Shankar Shet and Tyab Ali were some of the important native merchants who represented the most affluent houses of native merchants. They wielded considerable influence over their respective communities. The native merchants played a dominant role in promoting new educational and cultural institutions in Bombay. The Managing Committee of the Bombay Native School Book and School Society in the early 1820's included Jamsetjee Jejeebhai, Jagannāth Shankar Shet and Framjee Cowasjee.

If the native merchants represented one important sector of public life that was emerging in Bombay, another sector was represented by the western educated middle class. The Brahmins constituted the main bulk of the literate population in pre-British days in the Deccan. With the British occupation of the Deccan, the Brahmins were removed from the vantage political positions. The Brahmins, however, adjusted themselves to the new situation by taking to English education. For them it was a question of shifting from one medium of educative system to another. The new merchant princes of Bombay hailed from the traditional Indian trading communities, so also the new educated came mainly from traditionally literate class of Mahārāshtra.

The Parsis swelled the ranks of both categories, though they remained predominant in the business world. The Prabhus, Parsis and Konkani Muslims represented the marginal layers of the main chunk of the new petti-bourgeoisie intelligentsia of Mahārāshtra which remained mainly Brahminical in composition.

The Poona College, which was established by Elphinstone in 1821 was exclusively a Brahmin college. It was in 1836 that the curriculum of the Poona College was changed to provide for the study of Marathi and English. Till then the college functioned as a Sanskrit College. It was in 1836 that the college was made open to all. Thus the growth of western educated class was thwarted in Poona for a considerable time. But there were a number of Brahmins who had migrated to Bombay in search of education and employment. In Bombay the Brahmins from Konkan and Desh were competing with Parsis, Prabhus and Shenvis in acquiring western education.

Mrs. Postans who visited India in 1838 drew a very flattering picture of the native society that was elevating itself by means of newly acquired intelligence.[10] J.W. Massie another contemporary visitor to western

India also drew a very favourable portrait of the numerically small but growing intelligentsia of Bombay.[11]

The newly educated men from the Deccan and Konkan had found access to Government institutions as clerks, writers, interpreters, teachers and even magistrates. The numerical growth of the native government servants was commented upon by Sir Erskine Perry in his deposition before the Select Committee of the House of commons in 1853. Perry said, " The main part of the administration in India is now under the natives. It has been the boast of the Brahmins that whatever set of circumstances come, they pull the strings of the government in point of fact, that is going on, and be it must be so, and it ought to be so. "[12] The western educated class, which was employed in various tiers of the administration, was numerically small and confined to cities. But historically it proved to be an important social element that contributed to the socio-political dynamics of the period. Together with the Bombay based business community, the western educated men laid the institutional and ideological basis of Indian nationalism.

The Indian business community of Bombay had learnt through experience the art of influencing the official policies by pressurising thorugh petitions and representations. As back as 1779 the Indian and European merchants had sent a joint petition to the Company requesting proper convoys for the protection of trade to and from Madras.[13]

On December 31, 1829 the leading natives of Bombay representing the Hindus, Parsis and Muslim inhabitants of Bombay island sent a petition to the Parliament requesting to introduce the trial by jury in Indian Courts and further to render the natives of India eligible to serve on these juries. The petition signed by 95 leading citizens of Bombay, spoke on behalf of the entire Indian population. The petition stated that the natives of India had no sentiments of hostility to the British Government; that they had no hopes but what arose from the British institutions. The petitions expressed the native aspiration to possess and merit the confidence of the Government and requested the British Parliament to declare Indians eligible to fill all civil offices in India.[14]

Stimulants that induced the new middle class of Mahārāshtra to give an organisational manifestation

to their political aspirations were many. Certain subjective characteristics of the Maratha people contained an instinctive tendency of assertion against an alien authority. The Maratha mind could not easily reconcile to the loss of political freedom. It could therefore never miss an opportunity to ventilate its grievances against the existing conditions. This was the primary subjective factor that helped to generate a political movement in the mid-19th century Maharashtra.

Another factor that contributed to the creation of a vigorous public life in Mahārāshtra during this period was the growth of Marathi and English journalism in Bombay. The Bombay press, both Marathi and English, displayed a spirit of independence in relation to the affairs of the East India Company. This was made possible by the fact that the affairs of the East India Company were constantly under fire in British press which represented the interests of the industrial capital that was striving for overall control of Indian administration. As a result of the Charter Act of 1833 a number of enterprising English merchants and businessmen came to Bombay in thirties. This influx of unofficial Englishmen into the city of Bombay created

some new problems for the administration. These newly arrived English businessmen, merchants and lawyers helped to create an atmosphere that favoured the emergence of a relatively free press in Bombay. Financial support from the English and Indian business community, Metcalfe's measures for unshackling the Press in India, and a newly started monthly steam communication between India and England strengthened the Bombay Press to assert its relative independence when speaking about the affairs of the Company. There were occasions when a Governor of Bombay had to complain very bitterly about "The most violent invective, the grossest calumnies and the most insulting language poured forth from the press conducted by Englishmen and copied into native papers".[15] Warning against the consequences of such writings the Bombay Governor in a minute dated 28th August 1838, stated: "What can be expected but that these statements should be taken by the natives for truth, and that as the motives of Government are described to be sordid and selfish, andtheir measures weak and tyrannical, the natives should learn to view us with distrust and hatred and be readily induced to join for the overthrow of our power."[16]

Inner subjective contradictions within the ruling circles also helped the Indian cause during this period. Personal feuds and quarrels among the Company's officers gave opportunities to the native citizens of Bombay to take sides and thus secure for themselves a voice in public life. The native gentry of Maratha Sardars and Jagirdars also got themselves willingly involved in such a fray. An interesting public incident arose when Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay threatened to attack and deport the Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops if he would attempt to enforce the writ of the King's Judge. This was occasioned by a conflict between the Supreme court of Bombay and the Government of Bombay over the writ of Habeas Corpus issued by Sir J.Peter Grant, the King's Judge. The case was that of one Moroo Raghunāth,a boy who was detained for over an year under circumstance of great hardship and cruelty by his grandfather, Pāndurang Rāmchandra residing at Poona. A relative of the boy moved the Supreme Court at Bombay for the issue of writ of Habeaus Corpus on 26th August 1828. The Court presided by Sir J.Peter Grant ordered the issue of writ. The Governor of Bombay forestalled the return being made to the writ

on the ground that Supreme court at Bombay had no jurisdiction beyond the island of Bombay. The matter went to the Privy Council and the verdict of the Privy Council went against the Supreme Court.

This incident resulted in the retirement of Sir J.Peter Grant, which created quite a public controversy in Bombay. The citizens of Bombay felicited Sir. J.Peter Grant by conferring a public address on the occasion of his retirement from the judgeship. The address of the Bombay citizens also demanded an extension of the jurisdiction of the Bombay's Supreme Court to the entire presidency. Newnham, a member of the Bombay Council wrote a minute on the incident and blamed radicalism of the Europeans and Bombay natives for the incident. He particularly accused the Parsis of Bombay for having imbibed radicalism from their contacts with Europeans.[17] Governor Sir John Malcolm, on this occasion, encouraged the Sirdars and Jagirdars of Mahārāshtra to present him with a public address at a speical darbar held at Poona, protesting against the address of the Bombay citizens. The Governor assured the Poona ssembly of Jagirdars and Sirdars that the jurisdiction of Bombay's Supreme Court would not be extended to other territories of the Bombay presidency.

If Sir J. Peter encouraged the Bombay citizens to get involved in an agitation over the said issue, Governor John Malcolm incited the Maratha feudal Sirdars to publicly back him in his feud with a judge of the Supreme Court. Thus an assertive English judge confronted the Company with administrative difficulties and emboldened the Bombay natives to speak in a tone that offended the Bombay Government.[18]

Backdrop of Turbulence

The singlemost effective stimulant that encouraged the middle class to move towards an organised expression of its longings was the impact of turbulent activities of the armed bands of rebels that had swept the Deccan all through this period. The Maratha intelligentsia could not but feel a bond of sympathy for the rural rebels. The food riots in Poona city, peasant agitation in Thana and Khandesh provided the backdrop for the emerging political movement in the cities of Bombay and Poona. The British preoccupation with the rural turbulence put the urban middle class at advantage in taking up issues with the administration.

When the western educated middle class of Bombay Presidency had hardly begun to move on political lines, the peasants and poorer sections of the Maratha population began to display signs of restlessness and discontent over growing deterioration in their living

conditions. The first public outburst against the rise in grain prices occurred in Poona in 1832.

In consequence of steep rise in the prices of grains within a short period, a riot of serious nature occurred in Poona on 6th November 1832. Reporting the outburst, J.Burnett, Assistant to the Collector of Poona, wrote on 8th November 1832 to the Bombay Government: "Since the 20th of last month the prices of the grains in general demand had actually doubled and the complaints, in consequence, from all classes, have been constant and numerous. On the morning of the 6th however, the inhabitants of the city, of all classes, and to the amount of several thousands, collected suddenly in a tumultuous manner and in an incredibly short space of time, they had attacked the shops of the grain dealers in several quarters of the city, emptied the grain into the streets and beaten the shopkeepers." The Poona District official further stated that he succeeded in restoring the peace and sending the people to their homes. Several persons were arrested on the spot. But the alarm among the business community was so great that all shops were shut and all money transactions were suspended for two days. Military parties were posted to furnish guards at

several quarters in the city.[19]

Commenting on the Poona food riot, the Bombay Gazette wrote on 10th November 1832: "Our Wednesday's Post brought us an alarming account of the desperation, to which the poorer classes were driven, by the exactions of few rich individuals who monopolise the sale of grain, and raised the price, already beyond the means of an impoverished people, to a still more exorbitant rate on the ground of approaching war and famine, which they themselves industriously rumoured. Our Correspondent stated, that there was then sufficient grain in the city for two years to come, that the mamlatdar, moved by the distressing appeals of the people, endeavoured to check the monopoly, but that his efforts were not sanctioned or seconded by those, whose power was requisite to give them effect. Complaints were made, but the constant answer was "we cannot interfere"... The state of the city became so disturbed, that our informant predicted the most alarming results. Our Post of the 2nd contained this prediction, and that of the 6th brought an account of its fulfilment from different quarters. About 8 on the morning of that day, an immense body of men,

consisting of ryots of all descriptions, moved into Aditwar Peth and commenced an attack upon the shops and warehouses of the graindealers, this attack soon extended to the oilsellers, in a short time, became general against merchants of every description. The rioting lasted for four hours, property to the extent of a lakh of rupees was carried off or destroyed and numbers of individuals were severely wounded."[20]

Another instance of popular unrest was dramatised when over seven thousand peasants of the Thana district petitioned the Bombay Government about their unhappy lot under the new judicial set up. The introduction of British courts of law had weakened the position of the peasants of the Deccan in relation to moneylenders. During the Maratha period, peasants had not felt the oppressing sting of the usurous activities of the moneylenders as they used to make their settlements with moneylenders through Panchayat Courts which were generally disposed in favour of peasant against moneylender. The British had wrested the judicial authority of settling claims of moneylenders from village panchayat and transferred it to Adalat Court. The newly introduced Adalat Court

treated the usurous transactions on contractual basis and its decisions generally went against the peasants. The widespread peasant discontent on this issue burst out in the shape of a mass petition of the peasants of Thana district in 1840. Over seven thousand peasants signed a petition and submitted it to Bombay Government demanding that their cases be referred to village panchayat in keeping with the ancient custom.[21]

The most powerful demonstration of the peasant discontent against the introduction of British revenue system was staged by the Khandesh peasants in 1832. The peasant protest took the shape of a resistance against the order of the revenue commissioner in 1849 that landholders should provide stone boundary marks on their lands. In 1852 the cultivators of Savda and Chopra in Khandesh refused to put the boundary marks. The peasants assembled in hundreds and attacked the revenue officials. The entire population of Erandol, Savda and Chopra withdrew their support to the British authorities and formed a parallel government. The uprising was put down by the British with an iron hand. But the incident showed the depth of peasant discontent against the British revenue system.[22]

Cultural Stirrings

When political initiative of the middle classes began to shape into political movement a multidimensional transformation in the intellectual make up of the new generation was being effected through several cultural and social movements.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society exerted a singular influence in the direction of stimulating a new thought process among the educated classes of Bombay in the mid-19th century. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society grew out of an earlier cultural body known as the Literary Society of Bombay. Sir James Mackintosh was the founder of the Literary Society. Sir James Mackintosh was a radical intellectual who had crossed sword with Burke in the French Revolution controversy. The Literary Society was founded with an idea "to investigate, bring together what could be discovered of the East so as to form a contribution to the thought and learning of the West."[23] In 1827 the Literary Society became the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. A number of works on Indian History, mythology and religions were published bythe activists of the Society. Among those who

contributed to the Society's table talks and transactions included Erskine, Vans Kennedy, General Briggs, W.H. Sykes and Dr.John Taylors. The first Maratha antiquarian scholar who enriched the literature of the Society was Professor Bāḷ Shāstri Jāmbhekar; a talented Maratha Brahmin. His papers on ancient inscriptions were among the earliest records of the Society. Next came Dr.Bhau Dajee who took keen interest in antiquarian research along with Pandit Bhagawanlal Indreji.[24]

The writings in the Journals of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society tended to create an urge among the Maratha intellectuals to rediscover the forgotten cultural heritage of India's past and to reinterpret the spirit of her ancient civilization. This resulted in the dawning of a new twofaceted intellectual tradition in Mahārāshtra - drawing inspiration from the ancient folklore as well as from the currents of new thought of the West. A tendency of looking to the past for inspiration and an attitude of assimilating the western influence - both the trends were equibalanced in Mahārāshtra; though the edge was slightly in favour of the former trend. Much

of the stability and solidity of the political agitation that developed in Mahārāshtra owes greatly to this fact.

The Bombay Students Literary and Scientific Society was a new cultural platform of the educated Bombay youth that was slowly emerging as the spokesman of the educated middle class. The society was founded toward the end of forties.[25] It grew out of an earlier Society known as "Upayukta Dnyānprasarak" run by Maratha scholars of the Elphinstone Institution. "Upayukta Dnyānprasarak" was founded in 1844 with Dādoba Pāndurang as chairman. The Marathi papers read at the meetings of the Bombay Students Literary and Scientific Society were later published in the "Marathi Dnyāna Prasārak". Govind Narayan Madgaonkar was one of the leading spirits behind this literary movement. In 1856 he spoke at a meeting of the Society when he stressed the urgent need for bringing out an encyclopaedia in Marathi-language.[26] Though the Society had bound itself not to touch political themes in its meetings, the so called sociologically oriented papers presented at these gatherings could hardly conceal the growing political interest of the Bombay intelligentsia.

S.M. Dikshit had read a paper at one of the Society's meeting wherein he described the psychological state of the Maratha people due to loss of political freedom: "We have been deprived of our statehood, our dignity and trade are lost, ancient learning has suffered decline. We have been reduced to a position wherein we feel as though we have fallen from the sky on a precarious edge of the earth!"[27] Another paper read by L.N. Joshi stated: "A prosperous country has fallen into the hands of the foreigners. They (British) would now do everything that serves their interest, without any concern for the good of the conquered people."[28] One Wāman Abāji Modak composed an essay in 1857 for the Marathi Dnyāna Prasārak wherein he wrote: "European historians like Wallace, Bruce, Teller grow eloquent when they describe the careers of European nation builders. But when they begin to narrate the story of Shivājī who was an Indian nationbuilder, they often shamelessly characterise him as robber, plunderer."[29] Marathi Dnyāna Prasārak acted as pacesetter of the political thinking of the Maratha intelligentsia though it was started with a non-political bias.

The new intellectual ferment also gave birth to a socio-religious reform movement in western Mahārāshtra. Like all other social movements it was rooted in the historical experiences of men. Contact with the West had brought into the country a body of thought that stirred the Maratha mind. The essential elements of the Western thought that entered the intellectual horizon of the new middle class were the appeal to reason, the belief in happiness as the end belief, belief in the liberty of opinion and conduct, natural rights, equality and faith in progress. Influx of these ideas brought in its wake a spirit of criticism and introspection. The advanced Maratha individuals soon became critics of their own customs, traditions and institutions. The gradual but radical readjustment that took place, as a result, in the Maratha social ideology germinated the social religious reform movements in mid-19th century Mahārāshtra.

The Hindu social order had always contained within its fold heretical elements that had been challenging and defying the customs and social orthodoxy. Hindu social establishment had often adjusted itself with the social upheavals by absorbing the compelling

relevance of the new social urges, without causing a fundamental change in the Hindu social structure. Notwithstanding the high value placed on continuity, Hindu social order had certain flexibility and mobility within the caste bounds. The growth of various cults and sects that Indian social scene periodically witnessed speaks for the social revolts and reform movements of the past. But these social revolts lacked solidity as they were initiated by mystic poets and saints; and therefore they were absorbed by the crafty Hindu orthodoxy. The specific new feature of the socio-religious reform movement in mid-19th century Mahārāshtra was that it was stimulated by secular motives rather than mystic ones. As pointed out by Charles Heimsath, "much of it originated from secular motives based on rationalistic critique of society."[30]

The Paramhansa Sabhā was the earliest socio-religious movement in Mahārāshtra which actively worked for the abolition of caste, introduction of widow remarriage and renunciation of idol worship. The Paramhansa Sabhā was founded in 1850.[31] The Sabha used to organise discussion on religious topics and had attracted a number of educated youngmen in Bombay.

One of the objectives of the Sabha was to break the social taboos. It used to conduct community meals among its members when the high caste Hindus used to take food prepared by the low-caste individuals.[32] Rāmchandra Bāḷkrishna, Bābā Padamanjī, M.M.Śaramānand and Dādobā Pāndurang were some of the important leaders of Paramhansa Sabhā. Some of the members of the Sabha had strong leaning to Christianity. Sabha's activities were therefore looked upon with suspicion by the larger Maratha masses. Paramhansa Sabhā had grown out of an ealier secret religious cult known as "Gupta Sabha". The Paramhansa Sabhā had attracted to its fold a number of followers in Bombay, Poona, Ahmednagar and other centres. The Poona followers were known for their radicalism which sometimes verged on atheism.[33] The Paramhansa Sabhā was mostly Maratha in composition and its appeal was confined to a small section of the western educated middle class. The Paramhansa Sabhā was a precursor of the Prārthanā Samaj of the later period which had embodied similar objectives in its programme: abolition of caste distinctions and emancipation of women.

The Paramhansa Sabhā could not strike roots among the wider sections of the people because of the popular

apprehension that the votaries of the Sabha were bound for embracing Christianity. It is interesting to note that opposition to Christianity in Mahārāshtra during this period was not motivated by theological consideration but by the fear that conversion would alienate and uproot the converts from the Indian national life. Nārāyan Raghunāth who embraced Christainaity wrote about the reluctance of his earstwhile colleggues to embra ce Christianity: "They thought that if we ultimately embraced the Christian faith - the religion of the rulers of the land - we would cease loving our country and all that was great and good in the land, and instead of taking any interest in the welfare of our motherland we would be completely denationalised and love everything that is English."[34]

Among the members of the Sabha few were induced to embrace Christianity. The driving idea behind sponsoring the Paramhansa Sabha seems to be the unification of the Hindu Society by dissolving the caste barriers. The Christian missionaries who had looked forward to eventual conversion of the Paramhansa followers were sadly mistaken as only a few of them turned to Christinaity. Those handful of converts later expressed disappointment with the Paramhansa Sabha

as it has failed to create any enthusiasm for Christianity among the masses.

The socio-religious movements were bound to have their impact on the political behaviour of the people. When the authority of the scriptures was questioned, and the mind had began to ask questions about the validity of social customs, the desire for an autonomous and self-determinate political existence was the next inevitable phase of the intellectual development of the people of Mahārāshtra. Formation of a political platform of the new middle class in western India was long due and this need was fulfilled very neatly in the fifties.

The Bombay Association

The concept of common Indian nationahood began to enter into political thinking of the mid-19th century Indian middle classes. The Maratha publicists like Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar, Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth and Lokahitavadi in their writings often stressed the Indian context of each problem they were discussing. Vishnuba Brahmachari had suggested that Devanagari script be made an all India script for the state transactions. Though India, during this period, was

a conglomeration of unevenly developed regions and a cockpit of rival cults and sects, the common denominator in the Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras was the growing awareness among the western educated classes of common destiny of the Indian people then living under British domination. Mobilization of the western educated men from the Presidency towns in the political association was the first step towards the making of modern Indian nationalism.

The British policy in relation to western educated middle class indirectly helped the process of political mobilization in the Presidency towns. That the administration of East India Company faced a very extraordinary situation in Mahārāshtra was acknowledged by a Bombay Governor in an official minute dated 28th August 1833: "We are here in India in a very extraordinary position - a small band of aliens totally unconnected by colour, religion, feelings, manners, or any one single tie, have established their despotic rule over a vast people, whose prejudices are arrayed against their conquerors. This supremacy can only be maintained by arms or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have. If

well directed the progress of education would undoubtedly increase our moral hold over India, but by leading the natives to a consciousness of their own strength, it will as surely weaken our physical means of keeping them in subjection."[35]

Awareness of this precarious position led the British administrators to adopt a dual policy towards the conquered people; a policy that involved an alternate as well as simultaneous use of repression and conciliation. British Government had to encourage the native intelligentsia to express its newly discovered identity as a new force in the public life of Bombay and western India. But long range interests of the colonial administration demanded a policy of restricting and thwarting the political ambitions of the native pettibourgeoisie. This was sharply revealed when the first radical step was taken by the Bombay citizens to form a political association.

The idea of a political association was radical as well as novel in the mid-19th century Mahārāshtra. As early as 1837 a move for the formation of a political association was noted by Bombay policy.[36]

An editorial comment of a Bombay paper had drawn attention of the authorities to a public move to set up in Bombay Presidency a political association.[37] The Bombay police chief alerted the Government about the impending formation of an association for political purposes, which, in his opinion, was quite a novelty in the country. He had gathered definite information that the plan for formation of association had been long under consideration and that a collection of funds for its establishment in Bombay, and for maintenance of its agents in England had made some progress.[38] The police report did not disclose the name of any person connected with this move. The attempt, however, proved to be still born and for some years nothing was heard about the association.

As the year 1853 approached the question of renewal of the Charter of the East India Company began to generate an atmosphere of excitement and expectancy in the public circles. No better opportune moment could be selected for stirring up the Government with Indian demands, than the one provided by the controversy, generated in England as well as in India, on the issue of the Company's Charter renewal. The Indian business community and the vocal elements

among the educated middle class launched a well timed agitation at a time when the Court of Directors were likely to show themselves unusually generous, when they were on their good behaviour awaiting the renewal of the Charter.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce had all these years been exposing what it described as false policy of the Company that had "doomed India to double injustice; a false policy that had given a monopoly of trade and commerce and government in India to a company rendered powerful by the protective decrees of British Parliament."[39] From 1822 onward the proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce record remonstrances against the administration of East India Company. The Chamber had sponsored a special campaign for Indian reform when the issue of renewal of the CDmpany's Charter became imminent. In 1851 the Manchester Chamber sent Alexander Mackay to India to study the conditions of trade and industry in Western India.[40] Thus Manchester provided an external stimulant to all those aspiring spirits in western India who were willing to take to agitation on the question of future constitutional set up of British India.

The agitation that culminated in the formation of political associations in Bombay and Poona grew out of crystalization of certain issues in the public mind. A resentment against the system of government that was run in the spirit of commercial concern by a colonial power was growing among the native intelligentsia and businessmen. Exclusion of Indians from higher state posts, expensive military campaigns conducted by the Company, neglect of irrigation and communication, and such other issues stemming from the policies of a colonial administration became the focal points of public grievances. The issue of Indianisation of executive and judicial services, which became the war cry of laterday Indian nationalism, was brought on the agenda of political debate in the early fifties. The elements of discontent had been gathering strength and were looking for an opportune moment to burst forth when the question of renewal of the Company's charter became imminent.

The men, who acted as pace-makers of the new political awakening and agitation in fifties, were the men who had acquired public eminence through their wealth and official connections. Jagannāth Shankar Shet, Framji Cowasji, Dr. Bhau Daji, Jamsetji Jejeebhai, Mohomad Ali Roghe and Tyab Ali were the

acknowledged public figures of Bombay in fifties. They represented the alliance of native intelligentsia and native merchant princes. In the city of Poona Lokahitavādī was emerging as a spokesmen of new ideas, but a stable public leadership was yet to emerge in Poona.

Shankar Shet's (1803-1865) eminence in public life was established more by his publicspiritedness than affluence; though he was a businessman of considerable munificence. His house was often a scene of evening parties when the elite of Bombay extending from the English Governor, members of the Council, the secratariat and heads of Government departments down to cadets in the Company's Army crushed glasses of wine and blessed Shanker Shet for his splendid entertainments and hospitality. [41] Shankar Shet's patronage was extended to all the newly growing cultural and literary institutions of Bombay.

Jagannāth Shankar Shet's public career began in twenties when he along with Jamsetji Jejeebhai, contributed his mite to the formation of the Bombay Native School Society. He was also connected with the earlier Bombay petition to Parliament for the

inclusion of Indians in the Presidency judiciary. Bombay's public life owned a large debt to him who was among the first that sowed the seeds of education and watched and nursed it to its later growth. When the Students Literary and Scientific Society first opened their Girls School under strong pupular opposition Jagannath Shankar Shet was one of the first who gave the Society helping hand-one of these schools was entirely supported by him. [42] In sixties when a group of public men approached him to intimate him about the proposed memorial in his honour Jagannath Shankar Shet spoke in a reminiscent mood: " I am now an old man, and it is forty years ago that I began to take interest in the public life of Bombay. I myself can hardly realise what Bombay was forty years ago. When with my late colleagues, the ever reverred sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoi and Framji Cowasji, I joined in the cause of education, it was considered almost a desecration to send a Hindu boy to a Government school. You may conceive therefore, what great changes my mind has undergone in this period. With me, personally, it has not been a process of reformation merely but of revolution on revolution during the last forty years. It is natural, therefore, that I should have faith in progress as a law of nature. " [43]

In the controversy over medium of instruction Jagannath Shankar Shet had lent his support to the cause of Indian languagee. In a representation to Government he wrote: " If our object is to diffuse knowledge and improve the minds of the natives of India as a people, it is my opinion that it must be done by imparting that knowledge to them in their own language ".[44] Jagannath Shankar Shet was one of the five prominent Bombay citizens who were nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council in 1862. He had been continuously wielding influence in the Government circles ever since Mountstuart Elphinstone had taken advice from him in framing the educational scheme. For over two decades Jagannath Shankar Shet functioned as a link between the government and the public circles of Bombay.

Among the Parsis engaged in trade Jamsetji Jejeebhai was a remarkable person who along with Jagannath Shankar Shet commanded great influence over the people of Bombay in fifties. Both of them shared the unique honour of receiving in their life time homage from citizens of Bombay who erected statues to them in acknowledgement of their meritorious public services. Between the two Jejeebhai was senior and he was the first to receive this honour about the year 1857. That was the first instance of such a

tribute being paid by Indians to one of their fellow countrymen.[45] Shankar Shet was to receive the same honour in 1864.[46] If the influence of Jagannath Shankar Shet and Jamsetji Jejeebhai was chiefly observable in the business world, Dr. Bhau Dajee Laud (1821-1874) was marked out as the most eminent native intellectual of his time in western India.[47] Bhau Dajee Laud was an eminent physician of Bombay and his fame had reference to learning. He had a passion for antiquarian research rarely seen among the Indians of that period. The troika of Jagannath Shankar Shet, Jamsetji Jejeebhai and Dr. Bhau Dajee Laud proved instrumental in effecting the political mobilization of the new middle classes of Bombay which finally manifested in the birth of Bombay Association in 1852.

In the year 1851, political climate in the Presidency towns was warming up on the issue of forthcoming renewal of Company's Charter. The same year Calcutta citizens formed a political body known as British India Association. On December 11, 1851 Debendranath Tagore had written to important persons of Madras and Poona with a view to request them to form similar body either as branch of the British India Association or as an independent body. He wrote: " It must be obvious to you that the representations which

are to be made to the British Parliament with reference to the approaching termination of the East India Company's Charter, would have great weight if they were made simultaneously by the natives of every part of British India or by society having just pretensions to represent them ". [48] The first Annual Report of the British India Association noted with satisfaction " the formation at Poona, Madras and Bombay successively of Associations of similar character though they have elected to carry on operations independently of each other ". [49]

A meeting of the leading citizens of Bombay was held in the hall of Elphinstone College on 26th August 1852. The object of the meeting, as previously announced, was to take into consideration the desirability of forming an association with a view to ascertain the wishes of the people and to represent the same to the authorities in India or in England. Among those present in the meeting included Jagannath Shankar Shet, Bomanjee Hormusjee, Maneckji Limjee, Cowasji Jahangir, Dr. Bhau Dajee Laud, Dadabhai Naroji, Narayan Dinanath, David Sassoon, Haji Habib and others. Notable absentee was Jamsetji Jejeebhai who was perhaps too loyalist to associate himself openly with a political move that was not to the liking of authorities.

His moral support however, was implied in the presence of other Parsi gentlemen who were very close to him. At the motion of Bomanjee Hormusjee, Jagannath Shankar Shet was voted into the chair.

The keynote of Jagannāth Shankar Shet's presidential address was a plea for mobilization of public opinion to impress upon the rulers the needs and desires of the people. He acknowledged the benefits of the British rule which, in his opinion, were the foundation of future Indian progress. He assured the government that all those who had gathered to form a political association did not harbour any hostile feelings to the British government. Stressing the need for an association like the one they were forming, he said that Government should welcome the new organisation as it would serve as an effective channel of public opinion. [50]

One of the speakers at the meeting was Dadābhai Nacroji whose speech reflected the tone and tempo of the agitation then being built up in Bombay. " The word grievance ", he said, " has nowadays become very common. It is in the mouth of everybody. But I apprehend few have any idea of the real importance of the term. Under the British Government we do not suffer any great

zoolum-oppresion. We are comparatively happier under the kind Government than we are likely to be under any other. Whatever evil we have to complain of originates from one cause, viz, the ignorance of European officers coming from home. With regard to many of the habits, customs, and usages prevailing in this country, these officers may pass laws or regulations injurious to the nation and yet fancy they have done their duty conscientiously. The authorities think them right, while the natives think otherwise. But if an Association like this be in existence, we can suggest improvements. The suggestions coming from such an Assembly must be listened to and perhaps adopted. The real grievances that I am aware of are those relative to the state of the Kunbis- peasants in the interior and the judicial and revenue system ". [51]

It may be noted that the English press of Bombay had attacked the idea of a political association and had warned the government that a conspiracy was being hatched against it. But despite such hostile reaction of the press the Bombay Association was formed. Once the Association was formed " The Telegraph And Courier," a Bombay daily was compelled to write: " The Bombay Association is now established and we wish it every success... We look upon this

Association, if properly worked by men of ability, energy and moral courage, as the beginning of a new era in Indian history ".[52] Formation of the Bombay Association showed that the native intelligentsia of Bombay was not lagging behind the Bengali intelligentsia, which had already established the British India Association in October 1851. Thus a new era of political associations began in Indian history.

Popular agitations in England which were occasionally reported in the Bombay press had exercised a fascinating influence on the minds of the Bombay intelligentsia. The campaigns for abolition of the Grain Laws and emancipation of slaves were looked upon as examples to be emulated by the leaders of the Bombay Association. Narayan Dinanath in one of his speeches at the Association meetings had urged his colleagues to emulate the methods of agitation employed by Manchester and Liverpool public organisations i.e. raising of funds, publication of pamphlets, holding lectures and debates.[53]

The Bombay Association in the first instance prepared a petition to be submitted to the British Parliament. The petition stated: " The petitioners

are fully sensible of, and are glad to acknowledge the many blessings they enjoy under the British rule; but these they attribute to the British character, rather than to the plan of government.... and which being the result of circumstances, and not of design, is but little suited to the present state of the country, and to the fair demands of the people of India."[54] Extension of privileges to the natives was the main argument of the petition. The petitioners contended that the time had arrived when the natives of India were entitled to a much larger share than they had till then in the administration. The petition was signed by upwards of 2400 persons and as observed by Lord Monteagle in the House of Lords, "the signatures on one single sheet represented the property worth two to three million pounds."[55] The petition was framed by Dr. Bhau Dajee Laud who was one of the trusted colleagues of Jagannath Shankar Shet.[56] The petition was addressed in duplicate to the House of Lords and Commons respectively, two thousand copies of it having been printed in English and fifteen hundred each in Marathi and Gujarati.[57]

The general scope of reform suggested in the petition was that the new Indian constitution while

retaining all the good elements of the last, may be less cumbersome, less exclusive, less secret and more directly responsible. The petition objected to the double government and recommended the formation of an Indian Council, with a President directly responsible to Parliament and constituted exclusively of persons who should have acquired a knowledge of India by personal residence and experience. The chief stress of the petition was laid upon exclusiveness practised in the civil administration of the country. The petition complained that nearly all important posts in the civil administration of India were exclusively in the hands of the covenated civil service.[58]

The petition, though couched in a courteous language, contained an indictment of the Company's government. The elements coming from the business community did not like the implied criticism of the Government. Soon a rift developed in the Bombay Association. When the text of the petition was published the English journals that had grudgingly welcomed the formation of the Association began to find fault with it. Several businessmen broke away from the Association, notable among them were Jamsetji

Jejeebhoy, Maneckji Cursetji and Mahomad Ali Roghe. Maneckji Cursetji wrote a pamphlet entitled "A few passing ideas for the benefit of India and Indians," the burden of which was, "first dreep, then walk then run!"[59]

The Bombay petition, however, gave good handle to the Company's enemies in England. Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Erskine Perry, Lord Monteagle, John Bright and others lent their moral support to the Bombay Association. Cobden was one of those few who could not see any advantage either to Indians or to their foreign masters in the British possession of India. "Hindustan," he wrote, "must be ruled by those who live on that side of the globe. Its people will prefer to be ruled badly - according to our notions - by its own kith and kin than to submit to the humiliation of better governed by a succession of transient intruders from the antipodes."[60]

Lord Monteagle lent moral support to the Bombay Association. Presenting the petition to the House of Lords, Monteagle pointed out that the petition had emanated exclusively from natives of Bombay and had not been prepared at the instigation or suggestion of any European. The petition was the act of the petitioners,

it spoke their own opinions and represented their own language, he told the British Parliament.[61]

The most sympathetic comment came from the British journal "The Leader". It wrote:" The natives of Bombay have made the first step from barbaric, to political life, according to the European sense of the word in making a direct appeal to the British Parliament for the recognition of their political existence. The petition which has been transmitted to this country, and the movement in which it has originated, prove that the people of Bombay notwithstanding their diversities of race, are actually fitting themselves to receive, if not to extort, a due share of self-government, under British institutions. They have by their own act, totally altered the relation in which they have hiterto stood to the British Government. It cannot any longer be considered that they are in tutelage... The very method of their proceeding shows that they have already acquird a power which must enforce respect."[62]

The split in the Bombay Association weakened the new movement. The radical wing of the intellectuals remained loyal to the ideas of political agitation. But the events of sepoy mutiny paralysed the Bombay Association. Its leading spirit Jagannath Shankar Shet

was in trouble during the days of sepoy mutiny. The association went into wilderness, thereafter, till it was revived in the sixties.

The Deccan Association

The Deccan Association was formed in the city of Poona in January 1852. Some of the Maratha Jagirdars and a few western educated persons had taken initiative in the formation of this body. The first meeting of the public spirited citizens of Poona was held at the residence of Rooprām Choudhari. The second meeting was held in the house of Rāmrāo Vināyak Purandare. It was decided in this meeting to obtain information from the British India Association of Calcutta. The issues that dominated the discussions in the Deccan Association related to the demands of the Deccan Jagirdars - Saranjam privileges be preserved, titles and hereditary privileges be continued and such other issues.[63]

Yeshawant Rāste was elected secretary of the Deccan Association. A fund of ten thousand rupees was collected, an appeal was drafted and sent to jagirdars, inamdars and merchants. The Deccan Association could not meet for more than seven or eight times. The official circles subverted the

working of the Association. One of the founders was given a high post outside Poona and was asked to behave. Two more activists of the Association were won over and the only leader who did not succumb to bait was penalised.[64]

Commenting on the official interference to stiffle the Deccan Association, London Journal ' The Sun ' wrote: " An important association has been formed in Poona, composed of the leading Maratha sardars and others for bringing before Parliament their views and wishes respecting the improvement of India in connection with the impending discussion on the East India Company's charter .... We now understand that the Government of Bombay have endeavoured to break up this association by alarming such of its members as happen to be in its employment, and so withdrawing from it those who would be most likely to give practical point and due form to its proceedings ".[65] The Sun welcomed and appreciated the formation of the Deccan Association for a special reason: " Native societies with similar objects had previously been organised in Calcutta and Madras. But these capitals are both so essentially European in tone and feeling that it is not from them we can expect to gain the

truest reflection of what is uppermost in the minds of the classes which formerly constituted the elite of Hindu society. In Poona, it is otherwise. There Maratha greatness, audacity and independence longest survived .... The tradition of native government and of native society under it, still survive at Poona, and there the educated part of its population can compare the benefits and the losses which the British government had brought upon them and are in a position to tell us with greater authority than the people of Calcutta or Madras what is they really have to complain of ".[66]

Added to the official policy of persecution, the socially weak composition of the Deccan Association led to its collapse. Just as the schism had developed within the Bombay Association between the radical intellectuals and conservative businessmen, so also discord had developed in the Deccan Association between the western educated men and the jagirdars. Within a short time the newly founded Poona organisation petered out.[67]

Temper And Impact of New Awakening.

The public life of Bombay began to shape in thirties. Various strands of public mobilisation

contributed to the making of Bombay's growing public life. In the 1830's Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar in collaboration with Jagagnāth Shankar Shet, initiated a move of taking back a convert to Christianity into Hindu society. These two distinguished Maratha leaders succeeded through persuasion in overcoming the Hindu orthodox opposition to this reconversion. The controversy generated over this issue provided the background for the founding of Hindu Missionary Society by Gajānanrāo Vaidya to readmit converts into Hindu society. This was a Hindu sectional mobilisation which had its roots the psycho-intellectual shifts that Hindu mind had undergone. Such sectional mobilisations involved practically all communities.

The formation of Paramhansa Sabha was another instance of the growing intellectual unrest being manifested through an institutional form. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and The Bombay Students Literary and Scientific Society were the two cultural forums that indicated the stable and firm elements of the new awakening. The institutionalisation of the new political bearings of the middle class was effected through the formation of political associations in Bombay and Poona.

The intellectual ferment that led to the formation of Paramhansa Sabha was confined to a small section of the educated Marathas in big cities. The Sabha could not function on a mass scale because of the popular suspiction about its objectives. The Sabha could not grow beyong becoming a new cult confined to a fairly small number of western educated Marathas who were bound together in order to alter and supplant some portions of traditional Maratha culture.

The Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society and The Bombay Students Literary and Scientific Society were the two cultural forums which remained active all through this period giving sustenance to cultural renaissance that Mahārāshtra was witnessing. Both these cultural bodies received official patronage that ensured their long survival.

The early awakening among the Bombay mercantile community originated in the institution of joint petitioning which was first occasioned by the strong wishes of the Bombay citizens to have representation in the jury courts and to win eligibility to fill all civilian offices. The men who petitioned the administration began their argument on a very low key. They had no hostility to the British government, they

had no hopes but what arose from the British institutions, the petitioner had stated.

The political awakening and agitation took a more stable shape when the Bombay Association was formed. The formation of the Bombay Association was a result of the gradual and cumulative changes in the culture of an emerging middle class of Bombay that felt new expectations and urges. The Bombay Association had its inception in the conditions of unrest generated by the controversy over the renewal of the Company's Charter. It derived its motive power from dissatisfaction and grievances of the business community and the western educated middle class. In the beginning the political movement of the emerging classes of Bombay was amorphous, poorly organised and without a firm organisational foundation. The occasional petitioning to the British authorities by individuals and groups marked the earlier activities of the middle class. But these gropings and uncoordinated efforts had a general direction which finally resulted in the formation of the Bombay Association.

The institutionalisation of political awakening in mid-nineteenth century was thus achieved through the formation of the Bombay Association, though its social base was restricted and weak owing

to the nature of its class composition. The affluent class of shetias in Bombay was tied to the strings of official patronage from its very inception. The political platform of the Bombay Association could never go beyond demanding a larger share for Indians in the administration. Even this demand was considered too radical by certain leading Shetias of Bombay and they disaffiliated themselves from the Bombay Association, depriving it of solid financial support.

One of the weak points of the political agitation in Bombay related to its partial dependence on support from anti-company elements in England. This support never went beyond moral fraternisation, and with the outbreak of sepoy uprising all such foreign support to the Indian cause had cooled down. Historically, the absence of an industrial working class which could back the political agitation with mass sanctions, had imposed a limitation on the agitation programme of the Bombay Association. The political agitation in Bombay had to wait for half a century for the entry of working class into the arena of mass agitation.

The Deccan Association formed in Poona proved a still born affair as it failed to enlist in its

fold the elements which could render it solidity. The Inamholders, jagirdars and government employees were not a stuff out which stable and solid political agitation could emanate.

Though there was no direct and purposeful link between the rural turbulence and the urban awakening of this period, the British entanglement with the armed rebel bands that swept the Deccan, provided a good psychological opportunity for the urban middle classes to press for the redressal of their grievances. The food riot of Poona (1832), the peasant agitation of Thana (1840), peasant riot of Khandesh (1852) and uninterrupted wave of turbulence of the primitive rebels of the hilly tracts, certainly exercised a stimulating influence on the mass mobilisation of urban discontent.

The sepoy uprising had a demoralising effect on the public life of Bombay. The nascant appearance of public mobilisation in Poona was almost stiffled by the official interference. Thus the state of political agitation in Mahārāhstra was confused and disorganised at the tail end of the period under review. But a historical purpose was served by the Bombay Association. The institutions of mass

petitioning, mass meeting, pamphleteering and representation were firmly introduced in the civic life of the Bombay presidency. It was a sound beginning. The next generation of public men in Mahārāshtra picked up the thread which the generation of Jagannath Shankar Shet and Jejeebai felt of having slipped out of their hands. That explains the revival of the Bombay Association in the sixties followed by formation of the Sarvajanik Sabha in Poona.

Notes

1. Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Part I, Pp.413-14; Also quoted by V.A. Pavlov: "Tilak and The Struggle For Indian Freedom: Pp.174-76.

2. Pavlov, V.V. "Tilak And The Struggle For Indian Freedom". P.176.

3. Buchanan, D.H.: Development of Capitalist Enterprise In India. P.144.

4. Misra, B.B. : Indian Middle Class, Oxford 1961, Pp.30-31.

5. Thornton Edward : Statistical papers Relating to India; 1853-P.67.

6. Misra; B.B. : Indian Middle Class P.102.

7. Viscountess Falkland: Chow-Chow; London, 1857, P.30.

8. Sulivan R.J.F. : 100 Years of Bombay, Bombay 1936, P.19.

9. Ibid. P.31.

10. Mrs. Postans who visited India in 1838 described the contemporary scene in Western India: "Few places have undergone greater change and improvement than the Presidency of Western India, during the last six years, and its career of progress promises to be even yet more singularly rapid... The native gentry now form a recognised and important part of the community; their sons are educated to fit them for any mercantile or political appointment to which they may be called, the English merchants are daily considered as forming a more valuable class. The native society is elevating itself by means of newly acquired intelligence, to a point which must soon lead to a desirable object of mutual appreciation, between European and native talent... The wealthy and influential natives of the Presidency are doing much to accelerate improvement... Among other local advantages, the natives of Bombay support newspapers". Mrs. Postans: Western India, London, 1839, Pp.2-4.

11. J.W. Massie another contemporary witness to the changing face of Bombay in the mid-19th century wrote: "The inhabitants of Bombay differ in character and pursuit from the native citizens of Madras. They have much more commercial enterprise, far more intercourse with Europeans, their minds are in much higher measure liberalised and enlightened, and their relish for European luxuries, refinement, and knowledge, exceeds in an eminent degree any similar taste among the people of Madras. A Native Education Society was founded at Bombay in 1815 composed of natives and Europeans in nearly equal proportions... During the year 1826 their chief school at Bombay contained 395 boarders, of whom 223 were girls while its day scholars were 740, of whom 472 were natives. They sent forth from their institutions in 1829, 44 pupils of whom 32 were Mahrattas 5 Gujaratis and 7 Europeans, to enter upon literary occupations... The boys who made the greatest progress in the English schools, it was observed, were Hindus... But the anxiety of the Hindus, for a knowledge of the English language has far exceeded official arrangements. There are private schools at Bombay in which hundreds of native youths are studying the language of England at their own expense; in which they have made respectable proficiency". Massie: J.W. : Continental India, London, 1840, Vol.II, Pp.431-35.

12. Erskine Perry's evidence, 7 April 1853, First Report From the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Territories, London 1853, P.219.

13. Forrest, G.W. Selection From Records, Pp.240-242.

14. Mirror of Parliament, 1831, Vol.II, P.1837, Quoted by J.K.Majumdar in "Raja Rammonhan Roy and Progressive Movements in India," Culcutta 1941, Pp.374-377.

15. National Archives, New Delhi, Foreign Department Political Branch File, No.21 of 10 October 1838.

16. Ibid.

17. National Archives, New Delhi: Foreign Department, Political Branch File. No.11, of 22 October 1838.

18. Ibid.

19. National Archives New Delhi, Foreign Department, Political Branch, 1832. No.12-18 of 31 December 1832.

20. Ibid.

21. Bombay Archives: Revenue Department Vol.No.110/1195 of 1840. Pp.218-227.

22. District Gazetteer, Khandesh, Bombay 1880,Pp.261-62. Also S.S. Chaudhari : Civil Disturbances During The British Rule in India 1765-1857. The World Press, Calcutta, 1955, Pp.163-181.

23. Scott R. Rev.Prof.: The Centenary Memorial Volume of the B.B.R.A.S.; Bombay 1905, P.17.

24. The Centenary Memorial Volume Pp.9-10.

25. The students Literary and scientific Society was founded on 13th June 1848. The meeting to found this cultural Forum was held in the Elphinstone Institute and was presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji. The objective of this cultural forum was "to foster healthy tone of mind by insisting that indolence and apathy lead only to moral suicide and by placing in a clear light the sure result of self reliance, the steady progress to self-advancement and the golden crown of self-respect, to hold forth the torch of hope and to kindle the flame of generous enthusiasm at the altar of duty." See : Kulkarni, V.L. Marathi Dnyanaprasarak. Popular Prakashan Bombay, 1966.P.6.

26. Priolkar, Madagaokaranche Sankalit-Lekh, Bombay 1963, P.1.

27. Marathi Dnyana Prasarka, Bombay 1858, Book 1, Issue 4.

28. Ibid., 1859.

29. Ibid., Published in the April issue of 1860.

30. Heimsath, Charles H.: Indian Nationalism And Hindu Social Reform. Oxford 1964, Pp.9-10.

31. Priolkar, A.K. : "Paramhansa Sabha Va Tiche Adhyaksha Ramchandra Balkrishna; Mumbai; Grantha Sangrahalay, 1966, P.66.

32. Padamanji Baba : Arunodaya, Bombay 1888, P.49.

33. Ibid., P.52.

34. Ibid. Pp.406-407.

35. National Archives, New Delhi: Foreign Department, Political Branch No.21 of 10 October 1838.

36. Ibid., Foreign Department, Political Branch File of September 1837.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Mackay Alexander : Western India, London 1835, P.V.

40. Ibid. P.1.

41. Account of a family marriage function at Shanker Shet's house reported in the Bombay Times, February 26, 1843.

42. Dadabhai Naoroji's speech 1865, quoted by Kulkarni, P.B. "Nana Shankar Shet", Bombay, 1969, P.62.

43. Times of India, Bombay April 8, 1864,

44. Kulkarni P.B. : "Nana Shankar Shet; P.133.

45. Viscountess Falkland: Chow-Chow, London 1857, P.49.

46. Kulkarni P.B. : Nana Shankar Shet, P.40.

47. Temple Sir Richard : Men And Events of My Time In India. London 1882, P.260.

48. Majumdar B.B. : Indian Political Associations And Reform of Legislature 1818-197; Calcutta 1965, P.38.

49. Ibid. P.39.

50. The Bombay Gazette, August 27, 1852.

51. Masani R.P. : Dadabhai Naoroji, George Allen and Unwin Ltd; London, 1939, Pp.54-55.

52. Telegraph And Courier, August 28, 1852.

53. Bombay Association, Proceedings of theAnnual General Meeting, 1855, Pp.12-13.

54. The Bombay Times, October 29, 1852.

55. Ibid., April 19,1835.

56. The Native Opinion; Bombay, May 22, 1870.

57. The Bombay Times, October 29, 1852.

58. The Times, London, December 23, 1852. Quoted by the Bombay Times, January 31, 1853.

59. Masani R.P. : Dadabhai Naoroji, P.53.

60. Ibid. P.59.

61. The Times, London, March 5, 1853, Quoted by the Bombay Times, April 19, 1853.

62. The Leader, London, Quoted by The Bombay Times, February 24, 1853.

63. Kulkarni P.B.: Nana Shankar Shet, Pp.192-93.

64. Ibid. P.193.

65. The Sun, August 24, 1852, London, Quoted by The Bombay Times, September 25, 1852.

66. Ibid.

67. Pandit; Malini: Mahārāshtrail Rashtravadacha Vikas Bombay 19[illegible] Pp.27-29.

Chapter VII

Turbulence Unabated 1818-1858.

Soon after the conquest of southern Maratha country, Munro had expressed his confidence that the British supremacy was secure and he assured his colleague Chaplin that he did not apprehend any threat to the British authority in the Deccan in the immediate foreseen future.[1] Despite Munro's cocksure calculation about the impossibility of an armed challenge to the British authority in the then foreseen future, the turbulent spirit of the Marathas burst out into numerous armed insurrections that swept the Deccan during the Company's rule. And not the jagirdars but the common toiling dispossessed humanity of the Deccan organised these insurrectionary movements. Though the Peshwa was exiled, his chief associate Trimbak Dengle was imprisoned, within an year of the occupation of Poona the British authorities had a taste of the fact that fierce Maratha spirit was only curbed but not crushed and fretted with impatience, till an opportunity afforded for an outburst. Elphinstone

experienced the first flare up of the Maratha anger when a conspiracy was detected, in which some men of desperate fortunes took a lead, some of them being Brahmins, having for its object the murder of the Europeans at Poona and Satara, the surprise of some of the persons of the Raja of Satara. It was met with promptitude by Elphinstone. Elphinstone ordered the ring leaders to be punished in the Maratha fashion by being blown from guns, Elphinstone remarking at the time that punishment contained two valuable elements of capital punishment; it was painless to the criminal and terrible to the beholder. [2]

On 14th June 1818, James Grant, Political Asent in Satara reported M. Elphinstone the termination of the campaign against the body of insurgents then commonly known as Chatursing Bund.

The quelling of the Chatursing rebellion was the result of the new role assumed by the Company in the western Deccan. Chatursing was the uncle of Satara ruler Pratapsing. Chatursing was one of those enterprising and high-spirited adherents of Pratapsing who had actively participated in a bid to emancipate the Satara ruler from the power of the Peshwa. The attempt failed and Chatursing had to lead a hunted life.

When the Company's men occupied the Maratha country Chatursing was still up in arms against the Peshva. Taking advantage of the unsettled conditions of the Maratha country a Gosāvi adventurer posed himself as Chatursing and collected a band of Ramoshis around him and resumed marauding raids all over the Satara territory. The imposter succeeded in creating the impression among the people that Chatursing had returned to the Maratha land. Bajirao had sent a body of troops to seize him but the imposter escaped Bajirao's chase. After the British occupation of the Satara territory, James Grant was entrusted with the task of dealing with the imposter. James Grant had already come to know the fact about the death of the real Chatursing. Grant's enterprise came to a successful end when the imposter was seized by Col. Cunningham and was recognised as a pretender by the friends and adherents of Chatursing.[2A]

Company's rule over Mahārāshtra was marked by neverending series of distrubances in the rural areas. The disturbances in the rural areas were often followed by excitement in the towns and cities. The series of these disturbances commence with the Ramoshi rebellion and culminate in the scattered attemps to fuse the mutinies of the sepoys with a civilian uprising during

the years 1857 and 1858.

The most impoverished and distressed among the semitribals of Mahārāshtra constituted the driving force of these rebellions. But these primitive rebels enjoyed sympathy and support of the people of towns and cities. The British officers who crushed the rebels could often see the political motive behind these disturbances.

At a time when the free spirit of the Marathas was being sought to be smothered in the conciliatory gestures and baits of Elphinstone and his successors, an unknown power began to throw up its challenge to the British. The new power was the resurgence of the semitribal clans of Sahyadri and Satapuda. The Ramoshis, Kolies and Bhils contributed largely to the troubles that occasionally dislocated the British administration in Mahārāshtra. These tribals had lived in Mahārāshtra for hundreds of years and had absorbed most of the social institutions and beliefs of the non-primitives.

The Ramoshis were the inhabitants of the outskirts of the towns and villages in the vallies of Mann, Neera, Bheema and Pera rivers, and of the adjoining plains and highland of Satara, Poona, Ahmadnagar district. The Ramoshis belonged to the

lowest ladder of the Hindu society in the Deccan. Over 1300 Ramoshis lived in Poona, Satara and Ahmednagar districts. The Ramoshis had migrated to Mahārāshtra from Telangana region. They had got amalgamated and integrated in the Maratha population to the extent of having nearly lost their original language, though a scanty remains of Telagu words which they occasionally used betrayed their origin. [3]

During the period under review the Ramoshis led a roving unsettled life like many other nomadic tribes of the Deccan. They lived at some distance from the habitations of the more civilized orders of society. They had been like all other tribals of India, at a perpetual war with the civilized world. The civilized world of Brahmins, Jagirdars, Veerasdars and other Watandars never allowed the tribals to be absorbed in their closed order. Reconciliation and reprisals were the alternate courses adopted by the Peshwa establishment towards the tribals. [4]

The result was: the tribals used to occasionally when opportunities offered, plunder the travellers, organise night attacks in the houses of the rich in the villages and towns; and rob the house holders who had money. That was their way of conducting their class

war against the establishment. The rich villagers of the Deccan usually used to come to terms with the Ramoshis by employing them as village watchmen and thus protect their properties from such troublesome and dexterous robbers.

The village watchmen in western Mahārāshtra held grants of freehold lands. In such places as the Ramoshis held freehold lands, ground was seldom cultivated by them. Ramoshis used to engage the Kunbis to assist them in their labour of the field. The Kunbi used to handover half the produce of the field to Ramoshi after deducting the expenses of seed, reaping, thrashing and other incidental charges. The land held by a Ramoshi was frequently of a very unproductive quality, and consequently for years, was entirely neglected. Mackintosh found a great number of Ramoshis and their families lived in extreme poverty and wretchedness, dragging on a very miserable existence.[5]

Mackintosh was impressed by the resolution, secrecy and rapidity with which the Ramoshis concerted their schemes and carried them into execution. About the war equipment of the Ramoshis, Mackintosh says: " They arm themselves chiefly with the swords, taking one, two, or three matchlocks or more, should they

judge it necessary several also carry their shields, and a few have merely sticks which are, in general, shod with small bars of iron ". The Ramoshi skill for escaping the police eye drew Mackintosh's remark: " The gold and silver ornaments plundered at a distance they contrive to dispose of at a pretty fair price: this they partly effect through the agency of some shroffs or money dealers. Between some of these and Ramoshi Naiks there is frequently a good understanding. Marvari shopkeepers are in general in close connection with the Ramoshis. The Ramoshis seldom conceal stolen property in their own houses. The money a Ramoshi accumulates, he almost invariably buries underground in some unfrequented ravine or thicket, and the spot is only known to himself." [6]

The Ramoshis of Mackintosh's days particularly cherished the tradition that they had flocked to Shivaji's interests and on many occasions to have exerted themselves greatly in his service. [7]

Rebel Chief Umāji Naik

From 1826 to 1832 the British rulers in Mahārāshtra were faced with a major law and order problem by the eruption of a large scale rebellion

in the valleys of Sahyadri. Umāji Naik a Ramoshi Chief of the Purandar region led this rebellion. Umāji Naik was born in the year 1791 at the small village of Bhivandi two miles North East from Purandar hill in the Poona district. " Umāji was a slight made man, about five feet four inches in height, with large dark searching and expressive eyes, a large nose deeply set under the brow; his features on the whole were mild and rather pleasing ". [8]

Umāji led a restless life from his early childhood. During the last days of the Peshwa rule, he led a fugitive's life. Umāji was back to Purandar when the British conquered the Peshwa territories. At this period, and for several subsequent years, he attracted no attention and was considered merely an active man of his tribe. [9]

Umāji had a grievance against the old and the new regime relating to the denial of land grant to which Umāji had laid claim. Neither the Peshwa government nor the new government was favourably disposed towards his claims. The accumulated anger of years of waiting and fruitless pleading burst out into rebellion.

Umāji's first encounter with the British authorities occurred within six months after the

British took possession of the Poona territory, when he was apprehended, tried and imprisoned for a highway robbery. During his detention Umāji displayed his aspiring spirit and ambition by learning the written word. Under circumstance of unfavourable nature Umaji availed himself of his spare time to acquire some little instruction.[10]

After the death of Satto Naik, Umaji became the principal chief of the band of Ramoshis in the Purandar region, Umāji's first act after assuming the leadership of the Ramoshi band, was to waylay an agent of the Patwardhan jagirdar in the South East of Jejoori. In April 1826 the Ramoshi band plundered a Brahmin banker of Pandharpur in the vicinity of Jejoori. The family of Bijoba Naik, Jagirdar of Phultan was plundered in the month of July, 1826 in the hills between Dhond and Jejoori.[11]

The British authorities in the Poona district were alarmed at the growing activities of the Ramoshis. John Warden a British official of Poona wrote to D.R. Reid, Collector of Ratnagiri: "A gang of Ramoossies headed by a man named Oomaje has existed for some time past in the hills to the South East of Poona, and it

has now assumed more the appearance of a rebellion than mere a gang of robbers."[12]

Ramoshi rebellion coincided with the excitement in the city of Poona caused by the widespread rumours of an expected political upheaval. The Collector of Poona wrote to the Bombay Government on 3rd December 1827: "All classes of our subjects appear to be on the tiptoe of expectation watching for some political change which it is thought is about to happen. Government is however aware of the disposition of some of the inhabitants of Poona to frame and to circulate false reports and to keep the public mind in agitation and it would not have called for remark from me now, were not the degree of that agitation greater than usual while the marked change in the character of the disturbers of the peace of the country give a more serious complexion to the rumours that are afloat. There is a singular coincidence also between one of these rumours and the address to the feelings of Brahmins, which was written by the pretended Yeshodäbäi Peshwin, and brought here by the relation and friend of Bajeerao Shreevardhankar several years ago as reported to Government in my letter of the time. The report is just of that description, as was the address to excite the whole Hindu

Community to a disgust of Europeans, and to prepare their minds first to wish for and then to assist in their removal from the country."[13]

H.D. Robertson, Collector of Poona, in a letter to the British Resident at Satara wrote: "The leaders of this Bund are strongly supported by many of His Highness's subjects of Waee and of all that Ramoshi tract bordering the Ghats and the Pant Sachiv's territory".[14]

The British authorities came out with a heavy hand against the Ramoshis. High rewards were offered for the apprehension of the leaders of the rebels.[15] In addition to the Poona horse and police of the district, two detachments of regular infantry of a hundred men each were employed against the Ramoshis. Umaji and his friends generally concealed themselves in Purandar hills, occasionally crossing over to the Salpie range and the hills near Khore. The sweep of the Ramoshi rebellion was described by a British officer: "The Ramoossees are coming like waves that follow on the sea."[16]

The armed band of Ramoshis led by Umāji plundered a Brahmin traveller south of the Neera, in the beginning of March 1827 and then proceeded to the Western Ghats, and remained in the small vallies of Sahyadri ranges. Umāji had with him about sixty men, and in the month of May they descended into the Konkan, near the bottom of the Bhor Ghat, and seized good amount of silk and satin cloth from the merchants who were proceeding to Poona. Again on the 10th of June, in the vicinity of the same place they plundered a banker and carried of a large sum.[17]

Bringing out the political character of the Bund (Bund is the Marathi word for rebellion) H.D. Robertson, British Collector of Poona wrote to the Bombay Government: "There is a secret but I hope absurd belief among the inhabitants of this country that the Purandar Bund is one of the links of a political cabal against the Company's Government which it is thought the King of England is desirous to subvert in India, in order to restore princes unjustly dethroned. There are at least some busy agents of secret enemies both at Poona and Wace who send forth such impressions....

... The Purandar Dund had assumed a new character from the support it received from the Raja of Kolhapur. Omia, its leader now in some instances conducts himself as an independent chiftain. He sends for Brahmins and gives them Dakshina and charity. He issues proclamations against the British Government. He obliges to pay him the honour of a chief and then rewards them liberally. He exacts money expressly for the maintenance of his flag and has appointed amissaries such as those of Sindia and Holkar. All the circumstances being taken into consideration with the secretly entertained belief that he is now acting on instructions from Brahmins at Wase, tend to confirm me in my opinion that this Dund is assuming a degree of political importance."[18]

The British authorities soon found it necessary to issue a proclamation and announce rewards for the apprehension of Umāji and his chief associates.[19]

Upon the termination of the Monsoon of 1827 Umāji decided on following up with greater vigour the system he had been so long pursuing in the hope that Government would deem it the best plan to conciliate the Ramoshis and give them employment, as at this time many of the discharged and discontented soldiery were

moving about the country seeking for service and might be induced to join the insurgents. But the Collector of Poona was opposed to the idea of conciliation of the Ramoshis at that moment. Robertson wrote to the government of Bombay on 22nd November 1827: "Although I had placed under temporary restraint about a fortnight ago many of the families of the Banditti, to whom the whole country pointed as the great supporters of their husbands and brothers in respect of food and information, I found that Banditti exacted and continued to receive from the kunbee population a sufficient supply of food for their wants. The Patils and Kulkarnis had a secret interest in the continuance of the Bund. I have held out assurances to the minor followers of the Banditti that they may expect a pardon if their leaders were given up. I should perhaps have gone so far as at once to offer them a pardon, if they would desert the chiefs and settle peaceably; but I have deterred from so decided a measure by the consideration that the effects of it might be attended with more evil than good, by its being attributed both by the robbers and the country at large to our helplessness in suppressing such association. I should at the least advice Government to withhold the hand of forgiveness until after our

efforts shall prove to be successful either from the apprehension of one or two of the chiefs, or by the defeat of some one of their parties. At present we stand in the position of the vanquished and baffled."[20] The encouragement that the Raja of Kolhapur gave to the Ramoshi rebels rendered the British position still pitiable. In September 1827 Umāji had sent Krishnāji and Vithāji, two of his associates, to Kolhapur where the prince was up in arms against the British. The Ramoshi envoys were well received at Kolhapur. Umāji's envoys suggested to the Raja his holding out against the troops advancing to Kolhapur, and that Ramoshis would endeavour to cause a diversion in his favour by striking a blow at Poona and other places, so as to compel them ultimately to grant better terms to all parties.[21]

Umāji had now started to conduct himself as an independent chiftain, with his own flag, holding a darbar, sending envoys to the courts of Gwallior, Indore, Satara and Kolhapur. Captain Davies in a letter dated 27th November 1827, describes the Ramoshi darbar at Bāl Durah, a place near Jejoori hills: "This is a noted spot for them and well situated for retreat. They represent King Omia as sitting in state under the brow

of a hill about a mile from the village, giving his orders and receiving homage in a most royal manner." Captain Davies further notes that there were fifty or sixty Ramoshis, some few Musalmans and Parsees, and Kunbees in all perhaps 80 men at the Darbar of Bal Durah.[22] Mackintosh also substantiates this report: "He made an effort about this time to exact from the inhabitants some of the respect and attention they are accustomed to exhibit in paying homage to their Rajas, and endeavoured to induce his followers and the lower, orders to salute him by that title."[23]

Umāji stepped up the tempo of his activities by raising new resources for the rebellion. He issued orders to the headmen of the surrounding villages not to pay a pie to the English. He threatened the village chiefs: "The villages of the tarafs of Kurjat Maval and Pawan Khore and Moosej Khore are hereby forbidden from rendering their revenue accounts to the Angres." Umaji's proclamation which contained this instruction to the village chiefs further desired that the villages in the lower country in the Kokan, including Penn, Panwell and Parashuram should transmit the proclamation from village to village.[24] Ramoshis levied contributions in the southern part of Poona district and northern boundary of the Satara territory, and in the Bhor territory.

They exacted more than 5000 rupees from the Poona district alone.[25]

Inumerable encounters with the savage British arms had put iron in Umāji's heart. After a feud in which the Ramoshis had killed a havaldar and four sepoys, Umāji sent for a Brahmin and despatched a letter to the British Governor along with a basket containing the heads of the soliders killed in action.[26]

For many months previous to this, the friends of the Ramoshi Naiks had been spreading reports that the rebels were not to blame so much as their conduct and proceedings would imply; that the principal instigators of the disturbances were residents of Poona; and moreover, they were in the pay of the Government, and that the Ramoshis were driven to fight for their rights, at the suggestion of those who were confidential servants of Government.[27] It may be noted here that Umāji was reasoning with the British official that he was fighting for the restoration of Watan rights. The British Government always regarded this claim of Umāji to be absurd and unfounded.

Robertson the Collector of Poona was deeply impressed by the political issue underlying the Ramoshi

rebellion. He wrote to the Bombay Government:" It is a remarkable feature in the proceedings of the Bund , that they never maltreated the villages unnecessarily and seldom on any other account than for serving or bearing allegiance to the English government. The whole tendency of their measures seems, in fact to bear upon the eradication of our influence and though the materials and machinery of the rebels are low caste and clumsy yet the daring and spirit with which they act are calculated to counteract the bad effect of such defects, and we may rest assured that we see in these robbers a fair practical specimen, although on a far lower scale of the enterprise and measures of Shivaji against the Beejpoor state and the Moghuls."[28]

In a threatening circular addressed to the village officers of Purandar region, captain Robertson accused the Patils, Kulkarnis and Ramoshis of the region of assisting the Ramoshi bands with food, shelter, money and information.[29]

Umāji and his friends were satisfied that Government had been teased and harassed so much in their proceedings for several years past that they would feel disposed to grant the Ramoshis the rights and dues they had been claiming. All the British attempts to apprehend

Umaji had proved unavailing. Umāji thought that the occasion favourable to try to obtain terms for himself by means of negotiations. He was already a celebrity in the Deccan. Umāji's feelers were favourably received by the British government. The British authorities decided to accomodate Umāji. A pardon was proclaimed to Umāji and his followers for their past offences. Umāji had 120 bighas of land bestowed on him in Inam and on the 17th January 1829 he was enlisted as a village official with a fixed remuneration. Umāji then moved to Sakoordy where he was entrusted with the peace of the region and with the lives of the inhabitants.[30]

At Sakoordy Kunbis, Ramoshis, Mahars, Mangs and other persons of lower orders appeared before his tribunal for the redress of their grievances. These people frequently came from the distance of fifteen, twenty five and thirty miles. In fact it could be said that the magistrarial duties of the entire Purandar region were assumed by Umāji.[31]

In February 1829 Umāji met the Raja of Satara and presented his claims in the Satara territory. The Raja assured him to look into his claims. Umāji met the Raja for the second time in February 1830. The Raja of Satara once mentioned to Mackintosh that Umāji had been trying the obtain employment from him, and that he wished

to have charge of the district south of Neera river.[32]

Umāji was not reconciled to a peaceful and quiet life at Sakoordy. During his visit to Poona, Umāji encountered many persons who urged him to fly to jungle and resume the anti-British activities. Umaji's spirit was kindled and he gave a slip to the British police. By January 1831 Umāji was again in the field against the British authorities.[33] Umāji's talent for carrying on with singular success a hit and run system of warfare was astounding. The rapid movement of Umāji's bands soon extended the warfare to Ahmadnagar district. On February 16, 1831 Umāji issued a declaration addressed to the Rajas, Jagirdars, Inamdars and all the inhabitants of Hindustan to rise against the British and to destroy the European officers and soldiers whenever and wherever they could find them. Umaji assured that such persons as were active in this work of the extermination of the British would be highly rewarded by the new government.[34]

The superior might of the British armed forces, however, finally overwhelmed Umāji. In December 1831 Umāji's band was surrounded by the British forces and he was seized. Umāji was tried and executed on 3rd February 1832.[35]

Captain Mackintosh who conducted the operations against Umaji conceded the human qualities of Umāji. He wrote: "That Comiah was a person of very considerable ability scarcely be doubted, for without talent and judgment, he could not have secured for himself the respect and terror of the population of the district. By his influence and conduct, he rendered himself very popular among the men of his own tribe, and a portion of the lower orders of the population. It was the opinion of the inhabitants of the country that he kept in view the conduct and line of proceedings pursued by Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha state, however times and circumstances were different... To the Brahmins and others in the pay of Government he was in the habit of talking in a cavalierly and arrogant manner, neither caring for or respecting them, and when they attempted to check his presumption he has observed: "You are sadly mistaken; you certainly don't suppose that I am to be compared to a Brahman. I am a different sort of person from your Shrimant Bājeerao. I am not to be dealt in the same manner. The English cannot drive me from the Purandar hills as they hurled Bājeerao from his throne."[36]

It being supposed by many that Umāji possessed considerable wealth, Mackintosh mentioned the circumstance to him one day. Umāji said he had little money. He had expended all he had collected, and given it to his followers and other persons. That was also the opinion of various men who were well acquainted with Umāji.[37]

The crisis of Umāji's destiny came when he was brought to trial at Poona before the Judge of the Poona Circuit. Umaji admitted the validity of the charges brought against him. He was executed, along with two of his comrades on the 3rd of February 1832.

Rebel Sons of Umāji

Umāji had two sons, Tukārām and Mahānkal. After Umāji's death Tukārām and Mahankāl led a peaceful life though they were occasionally alleged to be connected with the disturbances that shook the Purandar region in 1841, and whole of Mahārāshtra from Nasik to Sawantwadi in 1844.[38] Though Umāji's sons were not directly involved in these disturbances, they could not check their restlessness for long. From 1844 to 1860 Tukārām and Mahānkāl led a gang of bandits. On 8th November 1844 they were reported to have sacked the house of a Kulkarni of the village of Karade in Panvel taluka.[39] From then onward

till their last arrest on 17th April 1850 they led a hunted life; sometimes escaping from the police custody and sometimes evading the police eye. Tukaram died in the police custody of the injuries he had sustained in an encounter with the police.[40] Mahankal was tried and sentenced to life transportation for the various crimes he was alleged to have committed.[41]

Ramoshi Disturbance in 1839

In a letter dated 25th October 1838, Richard Mills, the Magistrate of Poona had warned the Bombay Government that with the withdrawal of the British led horsemen from his region the Ramoshis and such other turbulent characters would commence their depredations.[42] On 7th January 1839 U.Kudd a British military officer reported the outbreak of a Ramoshi rebellion. Narrating the progress of the rebellion U.Kudd wrote: "The Dund a very serious one and well supported. It was composed of at least 600 men and had several wellwishers and supporters in this part of the country as well as at Poona, some of whom I shall be able to bring to trial on charge of rebellion, as there appears likely to go good evidence against them.[43]

I.N. Rose another British military officer wrote to Poona District Magistrate on 8th January 1839: "A Bund of armed men has for the last ten days been festing the Ambegaon and Koosdeh Pethas of the Kheir Paragana. On the 5th of January Ltd. Rudd had fallen in with the whole gang in the jungle between Phikree and Niphut, he seized two Brahmins and a Kunbee. The two Brahmins are influential men in the Bund... The object of the Bund as far as I have been able to ascertain was to seize Thane of Ahoreeh and Koordeh and then to take the city and Subah of Junere. The extent to which its leaders succeeded in pursuading the ryots of their influence and importance is almost incredible. They declared that they would not molest the ryots, that they merely wished to take possession of the Government and they appeared openly in the villages during the day and conversed with the village officers. On asking one police patil why they did not give information against them, he said that he thought he had a new master. I was singularly fortunate in being able to save the Thana of Ghoreh... if the Thana had been taken, the rebels would have been convinced that we were no longer the rulers of the country, and the rebels would

have been possessed of the key to Junere ... I have every reason to believe that the natives of high rank in Poona are concerned in this conspiracy ... The country is in a very disturbed state. I hear that the Bheels in the Brahmanwada Ghat on the borders of the Nagar district are inclined to rise ". [44]

The remarkable feature of the Ramoshi rebellion relates to the easy manner in which the rebels won over not only the common people but also the lower ladders of the village administration in the country.

The Koli Rebellion

In the hilly tract of country lying between Poosa, south west of Poona, and the hill fort of Trimbak, the source of the Godavari river, inhabitants were chiefly Kolies. Koli population was scattered over the districts of Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Poona and Sholapur and along the Baleghat on the Western boundary of Andhra. Kolies were numerous in the Thana district and northern Konkan also. " Kolies look and speak like Kunbis and resemble them in house, dress and food. They were cultivators, labourers, house servants, gardeners and waterdrawers. They were also vegetable fruit and grass sellers and tile turners ". [45]

Mackintosh writing about the plight of the Kolies in Mawal region stated: The Kolies are much in want of encouragement at present; for some of their fields are neglected, and others out of repair .... The Kolies dispose of different kinds of fine rice to the Bunniah grain merchants, retaining only a very small quantity for their own consumption. [46] About the disposition of the Koli people Mackintosh: " They may be considered a sober and temperate people, not being addicted to the use of spirituous liquors; they are excessively fond of tobacco .... they also bear the character of being very revengeful, and gladly but patiently, await an opportunity of secretly indulging their vindictive passions .... It is a most exciting spectacle to see the inhabitants of two or three Koli villages, bourding with rapidity over the hills after the wild hog, shouting and cheering their dogs forward in pursuit of the game. The Kolies in the pay of Government are armed with matchlocks and swords. They never appear to use the bow and arrow ; " [47]

About the oppression of the Kolies by the Sahookars-moneylenders, Mackintosh wrote: " It is impossible to overlook the distress and misery that have been caused more or less to every family in that

part of the country, (i.e. the hilly tracts of the Sahyadri ghats) by the very exorbitant rate of interest charged for money, and the unjust and unfeeling proceedings of the Bunniahs, who are merchants and moneylenders settled in the villages. The bitter complaint I have often heard of the odious, usurious system of the Bunniahs is perfectly true ... These Bunniahs exercise their influence to prevent the Kolies selling their grain to any person from a distance that may come to collect and purchase it. These Bunniahs supply the different inhabitants with clothes, spices, salt, tobacco etc; lend money and often seed grain. They keep their accounts. This places the people unavoidably very much at their mercy, for their is no free market or competition to reduce articles to their proper valuation ". [48]

Added to the distress caused by the Bunniahs moneylenders and merchants, the Kolies of Sahyadri in the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century had to bear an additional disability. In various parts of the country there were many persons suffering much distress and inconvenience from having lost their employment in the hill forts. So the element of discontent was long gathering in the Sahyadri ghats.

But the large establishment of regular and irregular troops has overawed the discontented and kept them in check. With the withdrawal of troops from the region, the conduct of many of the unemployed and displaced soldiery and that of the Kolies in general became more conspicuous and more daring.[49]

The Kolies of the western Ghats had watched the persevering exertions and enterprising spirit of the Purandar Ramoshis. They could not but be tempted to excel the example of Umāji and his followers. Many consultations and talks were exchanged by the Koli Naiks on this topic.[50] The agitation was in the air. It assumed a distinct movement when Rāmjee Bhāngre and members of his clan initiated a petition to the government claiming a restoration to their rights and employment, either in the police or on the hill fort of Ratangad. Rāmjee Bhāngre was a famous outlaw and during the latter years of Bajirao's reign had become a police officer. On the establishment of British rule he was appointed chief constable or jamadar of one of the hill police post. Rāmjee Bhāngre proved an able officer, but resenting an order stopping his levy of gifts, he withdrew from Government service and went into outlawry.[51]

At this time the pay and allowances of other Koli families were reduced and many of them were thrown out of employment on account of the dismantling of the forts. Govind Khare had been commandant of the hill fort of Ratangad under the Peshwa. On the Peshwa's fall he remained staunch to his master, and under the plea of age, refused employment under the British government. On the reduction of hill fort garrisons which followed the establishment of British hold over the Deccan, twelve of Govindrao's men who had formed part of Ratangad garrison, were thrown out of employment and were also deprived of the revenues of a village, to which as commandants of the fort they had hereditary claims. Rámjee Bhángre and Govindrao Khaire's men were united with a common cause. They led the Koli revolt which swept across the whole of Thana, Poona and Ahmednagar tract. In January 1829, the mamlatdars of the Akola region reported that the people had become greatly alarmed, as several hundred Kólies had assembled in the hills. Rámjee Bhángre was also reported to have descended from the Konkan. Captain Mackintosh proceeded to the western Ghats taking with him a small detachment of the police corps. [52]

At least one or two Kolies from each village had flocked to the rebel camp. The Brahmin Kulkarnis,

some of whom had been encouraging the rebels, advised Mackintosh that troops should not be sent after the Kolies but that some arrangement should be made to redress their grievances. They pleaded with Mackintosh that when the troops fire at Kolies, they (Kolies) would plunge into the ravines covered with jungle; that the sepoys could never penetrate the tangled thichets of brushwood, or pass along the rugged and difficult footpaths they alone travelled by. [53]

Mackintosh soon realised that the troops employed to suppress the rebels in a hilly and jungly country could seldom accomplish the duty unless they obtained the cordial cooperation of the inhabitants of the district. Mackintosh therefore instructed some of the police corps to exert their best endeavours to gradually conciliate some of the Kolies. He won over a certain number of Kolies, found the names of all persons likely to help the insurgents and noted their favourite hiding and watering places. A large body of troops was collected; some were posted in the Konkan and other along the crest of the Sahyadris. Light parties, perpetually on the move, kept surprising the Kolies in their hiding places. So swift was the pursuit that the insurgents were forced to break into small parties. All the watering places were guarded, and in

a few months Ramjee Bhangre and Govendrao Khaire and over eighty of their followers were marched into Ahmadnagar.[54]

Though the chiefs of the Koli insurgents were secured the rising was not at an end. One of the most enterprising characters among the rebels, a Koli youth named Rāmā Keervā had escaped to the south of Poona. Rāmā Keervā was a stout and powerful man with an extremely fine figure, of a daring spirit, and noted among the Kolies for excelling them in agility. He had many acquaintances among the Bhils along the banks of Pera and Godavari rivers. He sent two of his Koli followers to some of the Bhil Naiks inviting them to join him, and to proceed on an expedition into the Konkan. In January 1830 about thirty Bhils joined Rāmā Keervā who had assembled an equal number of Kolies in the hills south of Otool. The band of rebels then swept across the Ghats of Sahyadri in Poona region. Keervā and his men attacked and plundered the village of Kinnoully in Konkan, and afterwards divided the spoil amounting to Rs.7690. When the Kolies and Bhils were descending the Ghats and Bhils were preparing to return to their homes, the 17th Regiment of the Native Infantry under Captain Lukyan attacked them. The

British troops had gathered, during the two year fighting, thorough knowledge of the hills. They gave no rest to the insurgents. A number of prisoners were taken to Poona and Thana. Rama Keervā with several other leaders and followers were brought to Ahmadnagar, where Keervā was executed.[55]

The Deccan witnessed another wave of the Koli insurrection in 1839. The renewed insurrection assumed more political and social character. The leaders of the Koli insurgents now proclaimed that they were acting for the deposed Peshva and were assuming the charge of the government in his name. The targets of the rebel attacks were this time the government treasury and the houses of the Marwari Bunniahs who had deeply entrenched their business tentacles in the Deccan villages. The rebellion shook the Deccan plateu for about seven years. The Koli insurrection this time attracted in its ranks insurgents from all castes. Bhāu Khare, Mānā Darbāre, both of whom were Brahmins shared the leadership of the insurgents with Chimnaji Jadhava a Koli.

The insurgents in Poona had planned a night raid on the Mahalkari treasury at Ghode. About 150 insurgents had gathered for the attack. The attempt, however, failed because of the arrival of Lt. Rudd and

Rose with their men. An armed clash resulted in the rebel band being broken up and several insurgents being caught. Fifty four of the rebels were tried. Ramchandra Ganesh Gore and a Koli rebel chief were executed. The rest were awarded various terms of imprisonment.[56]

In 1844 the Kolies renewed their rebellious activities in the Ahmadnagar and Nasik region under the leadership of Raghu Bhangre and Bāpu Bhāngre. Raghu Bhāngre made a raid on some Marwari Bunniahs who sought police protection. Raghuji's anger became fury when his mother was put to torture by the police. Raghuji gathered a band of Kolies and roaming through the Nasik and Ahmadnagar districts cut the nose of every Marwari he could lay his hands on. Almost all Marwaris fled in terror to the district town. The police however tightened the measures against Raghu. Raghuji was pressed by the police to a tight corner and he was forced to break his band and disappear into the hills. He avoided capture for many years.[57] A reward of Rs.5000 was offered for Raghu Bhāngre who was supposed to be gifted with supernatural power, and exercised great influence not only over his own men but over all the northwest Poona hills and Thana villages. At last on 2nd January 1848

Raghu Bhangre was caught at Pandharpur where he had gone dressed as a pilgrim.[58]

In 1845 the Koli rebellion had spreaded to Purandar subdivision of Poona, and from Purandar to Satara. Bāpu Bhangre was the ringleader of the Koli bands in this tract. Bāpu Bhāngre was arrested on 18th August 1845. But despite Bapu Bhangre's arrest the insurgents who had the secret support of the influential men continued to harass the country and plunder the villages. Government money was seized, a patil was murdered because he had helped the police, several moneylenders were robbed and many were mutiliated. The British, however, succeeded in crushing the rebal elements and early in 1846 the Magistrate reported the country returning to quiet and normal life.[59]

The Bhil Rebels

The Bhils were a wild and predatory people with a distinct historical tradition. Driven from Mewar and Jodhpur they had settled in the rocky ranges of Sātpuda, Vindhyu and Sātmala. A section of these Bhils lived in Khandesh, where subsisting partly on their own labour but more generally on the plunder of the rich landholders in their vicinity.[60] The bulk of the Bhil population which was estimated at one eight of the

entire inhabitants of the province, was chiefly settled in Baglan. The most restless and troublesome were those dwelling immediately at the foot of the ranges, who, at different periods, had either usurped or had been entrusted with all the passes leading into the country, and had held charge of many of the most important fortresses in the plains during the Peshwa period.[61]

At the time of British occupation of Khandesh organised gangs of Bhils were scattered all over the region as they were involved in a war like clash with the Maratha government for over a period of fourteen years. Over 50 Bhil bands were operating in Khandesh when British took over the administration. The Bhils were equally suspicious of the new rulers. From Kookermunda to Burhanpur the whole range of the Satpoda mountains teemed with the roving bands of Bhil rebels. During the second year of British administration many of the chiefs were either seized or killed in battle. But these chiefs were in most cases succeeded by others equally powerful and ferocious.[62]

James Outram who succeeded in pacifying the Bhil rebels, in one of his reports to the court of Directors narrates the steps that were taken for the conciliation of the Bhils: "To subjugate this race every

effort of coercion and conciliation was made. Large bodies of our troops were constantly out against them, to no purpose, and the endeavours of our political agents to bind them to peace by literally pensioning their chiefs and providing for support of their followers by a tax on the rest of the population were equally unavailing. At the close of the year 1824 the Bhils continued as far subdued and as destructive as at the time of our taking possession of the country. At the suggestion of Mountstuart Elphinstone an attempt was made to bring to the aid of government a portion of the Bhil tribe towards subjugating the rest by embodying a corps from among themselves. The Bhil Corps was raised entirely from among the Bhils ". [63]

In 1825 the Bhil rebellion assumed an extra political character. Sevāram a goldsmith from Bāglan issued proclamation in the name of the king of Satara to rise in revolt against the British authorities. About 800 Bhils attacked the British post at Unapur. But the attack was repulsed by British forces. [64]

James Outram succeeded in quelling the Bhil uprising with his measures of conciliation and coersion, which he alternately tried. How the Bhil population responded to the news of the outbreak of the Sepoy

mutiny in 1857 will be dealt with in a seperate section of this chapter.

The Revolt of the Kolhapur Fortguards

The anti-British insurrection shook the Kolhapur state in 1844. The internal feuds in the Kolhapur court provided the necessary encouragement to the dispossessed fortguards of the Kolhāpur state to rise in arms against the British authority. During the minority of Shivaji (1837-66), British Government had appointed Daji Krishna Pandit as Diwan of the State. His appointment was disliked by the senior members of the Kolhāpur court. The discontent over this appointment led to the insurrection in an indirect way.

The garrisons of the Maratha forts used to receive the assignment of land which they held on condition of service. After the establishment of British hegemony, these garrisons were thrown out of employment. But they were allowed to retain the land on payment of the Government revenue. Dāji Krishna Pandit, the new Diwan, had issued orders that these lands were thenceforward placed under the mamlatdars to whom the former fortguards should pay the revenue. This order was resented by the landholders of the forts who

refused to comply with the order and revolted against his authority.[65]

The fighting broke out at Samangad and Bhandargad in Kolhāpur. Disaffection spread rapidly and the local militia, the Shibandis of Kolhāpur, joined the rebels. Daji Pandit was confined, a parallel government was set up.

On 8 October General Dalamotte assumed command of the Company's forces and Samangad was stormed and taken by his men. On 24 October Col. Outram marched into Kolhapur and obtained the release of Daji Pandit. One after another all the rebel forts capitulated. All the captured forts were dismantled and a British officer was appointed as a political superintendent in Kolhapur, and the country settled down to peace.[66]

Akalkot Disturbance.

In June 1830 a disturbance took place in Akalkot. The principality of Akalkot was then being managed by the Raja of Sātārā. The changes introduced by Pratapsing the Raja of Sātārā in the revenue matters were disliked by some watandars. This led to an armed revolt headed by one Shankarrao Sardeshmukh of Borgad who imprisoned the minor Raja of Akalkot, and took possession of the fort

and the town. The combined forces of the British government and the Raja of Satara arrived on the scene but met with a stubborn resistance at the hands of rebels. A fight ensued on 10th July 1830 in which Capt. Edmond Sparrow was seriously wounded. Capt. Sparrow expired the same day. The British forces however recaptured the town and restored peace.[66A]

Sāwantwadī Disturbance 1844-45.

The disturbance that had broken out in Kolhapur in 1844 stimulated the rebel activities in Sāwantwadī. The men of the Manohar fort espoused the rebel cause. Phond Sāwant, one of the leading nobles of Sāwantwadī had joined the rebel cause. His example was followed by Annāsāheb the heir apparant who joining the rebel camp under a salute of guns, began to issue orders and collected the revenue from the villages round Sāwantwadī. In 1845 the whole country round the Sāwantwadī town was up in arms. Martial law was proclaimed and three strong detachments were stationed in different parts of Sāwantwādī. Col. Outram succeeded in quelling the rebellion. The common people, on promise of pardon, deserted the rebel camp and leaders of the revolt sought refuge within Purtuguese territory.[66B]

It may be noted here that the rebels were often motivated by petty personal grievances but the political aspiration of eradication of the British influence was involved in each of these rebellions.[67] This is the chief political import of these rebellions. That these rebels failed does not mean that their motives were doubtful.

Reverberations of the Great Rebellion

Mahārāshtra was not in the centre of the revolutionary maelstorm of the Great Rebellion of 1857. But Mahārāshtra could not have escaped the tremendous impact of the turbulence generated by the stirring events of the Sepoy Mutiny. The farflung sweep of the Sepoy Mutiny was noted by a contemporary world analysist: " The telegraphic dispatches .... show us the revolt rising on the extreme confines of the Punjab, in Peshawar, and on the other hand striding in a southern direction from Delhi to the Presidency of Bombay, through the stations of Jhansi, Sagar, Indore, Mhow, till we arrive at last at Aurangabad, only 150 miles north east of Bombay ".[68]

Karl Marx, who was closely watching the course of the sepoy mutiny, wrote on 1st September 1857:

" Emeutes had already been attempted in Gujrath, at Pandharpur in Satara, at Nagpur and Sagar in the Nagpur territory, at Hyderabad in the Nizam's territory, and, lastly as far south as Mysore, so that the calm of the Bombay and Madras presidencies must be understood as by no means perfectly secure ". [69]

That the happenings in the Deccan would finally determine the destiny of the rebellion was well understood by Marx. He wrote, on 18th September 1857: " In the Bombay Presidency .... affairs are assuming a very serious aspect. The mutiny at Kolhapur of the 27th Bombay Naive Infantry is a fact but their defeat by the British troops is a rumour only. The Bombay native army has broken out in successive mutinies. ... The main influence, however, ... will be exercised by the Mahrattas of the Deccan, where the rebellion has at last decidedly raised its head ". [70]

Marx was writing the articles for American readers on the basis of reports reaching London through the channels of press. Col. Medows Taylor, a British officer who was operating in the Southern Maratha country made the following observation about the situation in the Deccan; in a letter dated 26th September 1857: " I have no apprehension of any Maratha League.

In the Deccan the old Maratha families are weak, and I do not think there is any one who would have sympathy with the Scindia after the long break there has been in the connection. The Brahman influence was never liked by the true Maratha families, and they would not join Nanasaheb. ... Holkar, the Gaekwar, and the Kolhapur chief, the jagirdars in the South Maratha country are all staunch and quiet, and whether singly or collectively are too weak to attempt coalition. I do not think there is ground for apprehension of any Maratha rising or combination and I hope my views will be ultimately correct.[71]

As Marx had said, the Marathas of the Deccan held key to the probable line of development of the mutiny. A documented narration of what happened in Mahārāshtra during the years of Sepoy mutiny will clarify some of the obscure points connected with the history of the Grant Rebellion. A careful analysis of facts in this connection establish beyond doubt that the Marathas and the leaders of the rebellion failed each other. Had Nana or Tatya Tope entered Mahārāshtra, the history of the rebellion would have been different.

The elements of unrest were not wanting in Mahārāshtra. The British had seized the political power

from the Marathas. The loss of Maratha freedom was an event of near past. Squeezing of the houses of Satara and Nagpur had occurred within the living memory of the people. Rungo Bāpuji, the envoy of Pratapsingh had returned from London a disillusioned man.

Sātārā was a suitable place for the rebels to ignite the fire. The British Magistrate of Satara in a communication dated 20th June 1857, wrote to the Bombay Government: "Sātara being the seat of ancient Maratha sovereignty it is regarded as the first place in the Deccan which ought to make an effort to regain its former power."[72] The fears expressed by the British Magistrate were not unfounded. Moves were afoot in the Satara region for an armed uprising against the British. Rungo Bāpuji who had returned from London in 1834 was the moving spirit behind the anti-British activities in the Deccan. It appears that Rungo Bāpuji was maturing his plans in close understanding with the Indore prince Tokoji Holkar who was contemplating to move with his men to Sātārā to stir the feelings of the people of Mahārāshtra for an uprising against the British.[73] Rungo Bāpuji was found visiting Kolhapur, Belgaon, Wather and Phaltan to mobilise the activists for the contemplated uprising.[74]

The uprising was to result in the extermination of the British from Satara and reinstallation of Shahu Maharaj. Europeans were to be captured, treasury looted and Shahu to be proclaimed the new ruler.[75] Rajasbai widow of Pratapsing and Gunavatibai, the mother of Shahu Maharaji were associated with the plan. Tukoji Holkar of Indore and Chimna Saheb of Kolhapur were contacted by Rungo Bāpu and their co-operation was sought. Sātārā, Mahābaleshwar and Yawateshwar were to be attacked.[76] Balkrishna Shet of Goa was contacted, and he was asked to sound the Portuguese authorities.[77]

Rungo Bāpu's plan for an uprising in Sātārā was frustrated by the treachery on part of a dismissed agent of pant Sacheev. This disgruntled soul had written a letter to the British Magistrate conveying the intelligence about the mobilization of armed men at Bazarwadi near Bhor. Next day Mr. Sanford led a body of thirty Maratha Irregular Horse and arrested 13 armed persons, who confessed the motive for their gathering. They were gathered to attack the Government quarters at Sātārā.[78] Sātārā based correspondent of a Bombay Newspaper wrote on June 14, 1857: "Sātārā since Saturday last has been the scene of much alarm; in fact almost

in a state of siege. On Thursday the Collector Mr. Rose was informed of a contemplated rising of all the Mahrattas, that 500 armed rebels were in the city and 800 more from the Bhor country were on the way to form a junction with them, which being done, they were to make a night attack in the camp, murder the Europeans and place the ex-Raja on the throne. On Friday a puttawalla in Government employ, entered the lines of the 22nd Regiment and entered into conversation with a subedar telling him that the camp was to be attacked and that he was to get his men fire high. The arrest of the pattawalla was immediate...

... The natives in the country have given out that the whole Bombay Army is in mutiny, and that all here are ready to help them against the Sahiblog. ... All sorts of reports are rife..."[79]

The pattawalla referred to in the Bombay Times was Mānsing a peon in the Sātārā Collector's office who was found exhorting the men of the 22nd regiment of the Native Infantry to rise against the British. He told Mathuraprasād a Subhedar in the Native Infantry Unit at Sātārā, that insurrection had broken out in North India and that the days of the British rule were numberred.

He assured the Subhedar that Shahu Maharaj of Satara himself was to lead the attack on the British, and the houses of Gwallior, Indore and other principalities were pledged to back the Sātārā move. Mānsing appealed to Mathuraprasād that his men should not fire when the work of extermination of the British began.[30] Mansing was one of the chief associates of Rungo Bāpuji. Mānsing was tried and executed on 20th June 1857. While approaching the gallows Mānsing exhorted the people that had gathered to witness the execution to strike at the British. He said British had less hold on India at that moment than when they had set first step on the Indian soil.[31]

The factual account of Rango Bāpuji's bid to foment insurrection at Sātārā was revealed in the two treason trials held at Sātārā during 1857 and 1858. Balwant Laxman Potnis confessed at the second trial that he had met Rungo Bāpuji in August 1855 at Bombay. Rungo Bāpuji had told Potnis that he was disillusioned about the British sense of justice after having spent 14 years in England for procuring the restoration of the ex-Raja without any result. He was going to achieve his objective by force. As England was embroiled in the Crimean war a favourable opportunity had arisen; and that he would collect Mangs and Ramoshis to raise

a rebellion against the British; Rungo Bāpujī said.[82] At the first treason trial, one Seetaram had deposed that Rungo Bapuji used to travel in the Deccan under the pretext of some other work but acutally to enlist the men for the armed uprising.[83] After the frustration of the attempted uprising at Satara Rungo Bāpujī went into wilderness, and thereafter nothing was heard about him. The members of the royal family at Sātārā were removed to Butcher Island near Bombay. Thus the rebellion designed by Rungo Bāpujī was nipped in bud.

Kolhapur Sepoy Mutiny And Civil Rebellion

The British historian of the Bombay Army has patted the Bombay Sepoys for consistent loyalty and freedom from the stain of insubordination, when the Bengal Army was swept away in the tide of the Mutiny of 1857. "Not only were the Bombay regiments far more full of Purbias and of Hindustani Mussalmans, the brethren of the mutineers of the Bengal Army, but an appeal was made to the Maratha bulk of the Army by the assertion of Nānā Sāheb's claim to the Peshwa's gadi... That appeal, evoked no sympathy from the Bombay sepoys".[84] This assertion was not true of the Sepoys at Kolhāpur who mutinied against the British authority during the days of the Great Rebellion. But before documenting the

story of the Sepoy Mutiny at Kolhapur, a word about the composition of the Bombay Army.

Malcolm in his "Government of India", traces the rise of the three armies - Madras, Bengal and Bombay, and points out how the Bombay Army had from its origin, been composed of all classes, the lower tribes among the Hindus outnumbering those of higher castes. The Bombay Sepoy had no objection to the sea. He was patient and faithful and attached in a remarkable degree to his European officers and his colours.[35]

In 1830 there were 12,476 Hindustanis, 10,015 Konkanis and 1910 Deccanis in the Bombay Army. The composition of the Bombay Infantry in 1862 was as follows: Marathas 8,037, Brahmins and Rajputs 6923, Muslims 1920 Christians 264, other castes 8759, together making the strength of the Bombay Infantry 25,938.[36]

Though the entire army was restive during the days of the mutiny, only two of the thirty two infantry battalions mutinied, one at Belgaon in Karnatak and the other at Kolhāpur in southern Mahārāshtra. The regiment at Kolhāpur had been raised only eleven years previously, and had no record of past warfare, and like the other new regiments had a large Pardesi element. The southern

Maratha country contained many elements of discontent. There were no European troops. The rebellious elements of the 27th,28th and 29th battalians had established contacts with each other, and had conserted that Kolhapur battalian should rise first.[87]

The sepoys of the Native Infantry at Kolhapur were surrounded by the discontented population. The fortguards had been deprived of their Inam grants, other Inamholders were alarmed by the operations of the Inam Commission. There were strong elements all around to back the sepoy mutineers. The sepoys of the 27th regiment had their own camp grievances. The greased cartridge with butt of hogs and cows strengthened their apprehensions and fears about the intentions of the British rulers to destroy their religion.[88] Nānāsāheb's envoy one Bhausaheb Chatge of Gwallior had visited Kolhapur in June 1857. Chimna Saheb, younger brother of the Kolhapur ruler was contacted by the rebel elements of the regiment. Chimnasaheb had earlier encouraged Bungo Bāpuji. He was also in correspondence with the Gwallior Court. The sepoys were assured that all chiefs of India led by the Mughal Emperor had joined the mutineers.[89] The two Marathi Newspapers 'Vartaman Dipika' and 'Vartasar', both published

from Kolhapur had been publishing prominently the new stories of the sepoy mutiny in Northern India. These papers broadly hinted Nanasaheb's impending thrust into Deccan.

The mutiny in the 27th Regiment broke out on 31st July 1857. The outbreak at Kolhāpur was precipitated by the suspiction of the Sepoys that their plot had been discovered by the Native Adjutant.[90] The regiment revolted on the night of the 31st July. About 200 sepoys attacked the residential quarters of Major Holland and other military officers. The officers took refuge in the Residency. The sepoys looted the treasury of the Army. The mutineers then marched to the city gates. The ruler of Kolhāpur however closed the city gates against the sepoys. The mutineers then moved towards Phonda Ghat. Lt. W. A. Kerr and Lt. Arand Jacob supported by strong artillery, chased the mutineers, and took captive most of the rebels. Some of the mutineers succeeded in reaching Sāwantvadī and raised the turbulent elements therein.[91]

The sepoy mutiny was followed by a civil rebellion in Kolhāpur. Chimnāsāheb was the moving spirit behind this civil rebellion. Over 500 armed men gathered in a nearby forest and they planned a night attack on

the city. On the 4th December 1857, the armed band of rebels entered the city, and captured the palace. The Kolhapur city was now in the rebel hands. The British officers were surprised by this night attack. They regrouped their men and resources. But they avoided an open confrontation. They resorted to a trick. A British officer carried a white flag to the place. The rebels took it to be a sign of surrender. They allowed him to enter the palace. The British officer met the ruler and prevailed on him to order the rebels to disband. The ruler obliged the British, and the rebel bands were disbanded. The British now secure in their position, carried the trial of the leaders of the revolt. Thirtysix men were executed. Chimnasaheb was sent off to Karachi.[92]

Bhil Uprising During Mutiny

The Chronicler of the Khandesh Bhil Corps admits that the Bhil disturbance in Khandesh during the days of the mutiny was indirectly set in motion by the events in upper India. He however doubts that there could be direct connection or any collusion between the Khandesh Bhil rebels and mutineers of North India[93] The undisputed fact is that the Bhils of Khandesh renewed their anti-British activities taking advantage

of the unsettled conditions of 1857. One Kāzising, a Bhil, had served the British for twenty years during 1831 and 1851. He was dismissed and imprisoned for his involvement in a certain crime. In 1855 he was released from jail. He was enlisted by the British in the Bhil Corps again in 1857. The news from the North India worked up his feelings and in short time he left the Bhil Corps and assumed the leadership of the Bhil rebels in Khandesh. The demobbed soldiery from Holkar's army, the fugitives from Jhansi and Kota joined hands with the Bhil rebels. In September 1857 the rebellion presented the Company with a serious threat to its authority in Khandesh. [94]

Led by Bhimā Nāik a Bhil band attacked a party of the company's men under Lt. Kennedy. Bhimā Nāik invoked the authority of the Mughal Emperor and warned the Khandesh police not to lend any support to the English. [95] Simcox mentions that some of the rebel leaders boasted of letters of authority granted by the King of Delhi. [96]

On October 29, Bhimā and Kāzi led a joint attack on Shirpur. A band of 1500 Bhils arsoned the town and plundered it. In November 1857, the Bhil bands were seen on the border of Khandesh and

Ahmadnagar. 400 Bhils from Sinnar were reported to have joined them.[97] On November 17, a Bhil band looted the Government treasury involving a sum of Rs. 700000 in the Sindhwa pass of Khandesh. They plundered 60 carts loaded with opium, attacked the post office and snapped the telegraph wires.[98] Bhagoji Naik who was active in the Nasik region joined the bands of Kazi Sing and Bhima. The three men joined their forces and occupied the Bombay Agra road near the Sindhwa fort.[99]

A big encounter between the Bhil bands and the Company's men took place on April 11, 1858 at Ambāpani. Two of the company's officers were seriously wounded and one sepoy was killed in the encounter. On the Bhil side 66 men were killed and 170 wounded. A remarkable feature of the encounter was the participation of the Bhil women in the battle. After this encounter the British arrested over 400 Bhil women and they were kept as hostages till Bhāgaji Naik, Bhīma Nāik and Kāzi Sing were rounded up. 62 Bhils were tried and executed for their inolvement in the Ambāpani episode. The Bhils of Ahmadnagar soon retaliated against this persecution. They attacked a British cantonment near Nandgaon. 19 of Company's men and 25 Bhils lost their lives in this combat.[100]

In the Nasik district the Bhils rose under the leadership of the Koli ruler Bhagawantrao of Chovisparagana. On December 6, 1857, they attacked the Government post at Harsul, and seized the treasury. Bhagaji Naik and Mahadi Fuladikban organised this attack. The British officer Walpole was made captive and detained. Capt. Nettle came to his rescue and the rebels were forced to submit. The Koli Chief Bhagawantrao and other leaders were arrested and executed on December 28, 1857. With the rains of 1858 began the gradual return of peace to Khandesh. [101]

Mutiny at Aurangabad

The First Cavalry of the Hyderabad contingent stationed at Nominabad was rushed to Aurangabad in the first week of June 1857. On their way to Aurangabad the sepoys stopped at Chhotapimpalgaon for short respite. Here they learnt the news of the sepoy mutiny in the North. They suspected that they were being taken to Delhi to fight the Mughal emperor. The Hindus and Muslims of the Cavalry were equally agitated over the news of the mutiny. On 9th June they arrived at Aurangabad. The disaffection soon gripped them. 2nd Infantry stationed at Aurangabad was also affected by the mutinious feelings. Any disturbance at Aurangabad

at that moment would have proved to be a germ of rebellion in the countries, south of Nerbuda.[102] Military quarters at Hyderabad and Poona were soon alerted. Reinforcement soon reached Aurangabad. When Col. Abbot felt reassured, with the arrival of fresh loyal troops from Poona and Hyderabad, he surprised the 1st cavalry. The leaders of the mutinious sections of the cavalry were arrested and tried for sedition. Thus the mutiny of the 1st Cavalry of the Hyderabad Contingent stationed at Aurangabad, which refused to fight the Mughal emperor, was crushed before it could spread to other sections. The court martials resulted in the flogging of some, about forty men were transported for life, twentyone were shot and three were blown off from guns.[103] Reporting the happenings at Aurangabad a Bombay paper wrote: " The city of Aurangabad, as may be imagined was somewhat excited, but no irregularity or outbreak of any kind had taken place, and the country around remained quiet ".[104]

Nagpur Plot Fails.

In the city of Nagpur a plot was hatched for the sepoy mutiny. The sepoys of the Takli camp were to launch an attack on the British Residency on 13th June 1857. But the British got the intelligence of the

proposed plot. The ring leaders of the sepoys were arrested and executed. The sepoys had conceived the plan to resurrect the Maratha royalty at Nāgpur and place prince Janoji Bhonsle on the throne. But Bānkaba, the elder woman in the royal family, was opposed to this plan. She invited the leading citizens of Nagpur and counselled against any anti-British move.[106]

Maratha Chiefs Support the British

The Brahmin jagirdars of Sangli-Miraj-Tasgaon-Kurandwadi, belonging to the Patwardhan family remained loyal to the British during the course of the mutiny. The chiefs of Miraj and Kurundwadi offered to admit the British troops till peace was restored.[106] 300 men of the 22nd Infantry were stationed at Tasgaon.[107] The chief of Sangli also admitted a European Regiment.[108] The ruler of Kolhapur stood by the British; so also Bānkabai, the elder Bhonsla woman at Nāgpur.

Excitement In the Cities

During the days of the mutiny the city of Poona was thick with rumours. The people looked forward to the appearance of Nānāsaheb with his army in the Deccan. A number of posters appeared on the city walls calling upon the people to exterminate the British officials.

The posters announced various rewards for the physical annihilation of the British officials.[109] A private correspondence throws light on the psychological impact of the stirring events of 1857 on the popular mind. One Donga Singh, a Normal School student from Poona wrote to his uncle Sepoy Natādin at Nussarabad; " God willing, this school will be closed in October next. It is a universal talk here that the Bombay troops are turning mutinous. ... It is talked here that Nanasaheb has received a Khillat from the emperor of Delhi and the King of Delhi has asked Nānāsāheb to go to Poona and take the throne. It is also said here that the Raja of Sātārā would aid him ".[110]

Gossips and casual conversations among the people during this stormy period provide a good material to measure the intensity of public opinion. The Commissioner of Police at Poona forwarded to the Bombay Government a report containing an abstract of the conversation carried on in the Poona Native General Library. The Commissioner stated that the persons who frequented that Library, indulged in seditious conversations and he had reason to believe, it was no better at the Poona college. " These persons, the Commissioner reported, " did their best to foster a

spirit of mistrust and disaffection amongst the people." Many of these persons were highly placed government employees. The Superintendent of Police at Poona had satisfied himself that the report of the conversation that was brought to him by his spies was correct. These conversations in his opinion, were of a very seditious nature and "they were calculated to do a great deal of mischief."[110]

The report of the Police Superintendent reads: "Conversation between Professor Keroo Luxman and Krishnā Shāstri at the Poona Native General Library: What has been published regarding the suicide of Nānā Sahib, in the Poona Observer is all false; the Editors are brutes. One of the teachers of the Poona College said, yes it was all false. The Russians are shortly to invade India. Under the British Government, great injustice had been practised and he hoped the former rule would be reestablished and should Nānāsāheb really be dead, still there were scores like him ready to command the rebel army.

Conversation between the Editor of the Dnyān Prakāsha and Vināyak Bhide, a monitor in the Poona College: the death of Nānāsāheb is quite false. That

he had received a letter to that effect which he intended to publish in his next issue.

Conversation between Balwantrao, Librarian of the Poona Native Library and a Purvee Clerk: The British are cruel and the search for arms, shows their cowardice, the fight between the British and Nānà was very unequal as the British were ten to one."

Conversation between Professor Keroo Luxman and Bāpu Munday, Sub Assistant Inam Commissioner after reading the Friend of India: So long as the British are in power we as the conquered race will have to flatter and favour them, but our day is fast approaching when every thing will be in a blaze."

Conversation between Sakhāram Dixit and Vishnupant Shāstri Tāmhankar: In the contest between the British and Nànāsaheb one party or other if not both will suffer. Then the Russians will step in and make themselves the masterr of Hindustan.

Conversation between the Librarian and Narāyan Sahasrabudhe, a clerk to Lord Bishop: In consequence of Agra and Delhi being strongly fortified and bravely defended by Nànà Sāheb the British forces are unable to make any impression. Nānà's policy is better than that

of the British for he does not collect revenue or oppress ryots.

Conversation between Professor Keroo Laxman and Yashavant Bhavāḷkar, teacher in the Poona College: The British give out that thousands of mutineers are killed, without loss on their side, this is impossible. The British are in a panic here and should Nānā Saheb come down at once, he will find little to oppose him, he should come either during the mansoons or hot weather when European soliders will be helpless from the heat.

Conversation between Annāsāheb Chiplunkar, clerk in the Poona Court, and Keshavrao Bhavāḷkar, teacher in Poona College: God is displeased with the British therefore they are not victorious.

Conversation between Annā Shastrabudhe and Sudhākar Ballāḷ: A European disquised as a beggar went to capture Nānā-Saheb. In course of conversation the beggar inadvertently used the expression "oh yes". Nana at once made him prisoner. If, then, Nānā is thus shrewd and clever; do the British ever suppose they will be able to capture him?

Conversation between Krishnā Shāstri, and the Sub Assistant Inam Commissioner: Although the British

bravely defended Agra and a constant cannonade was kept up, yet Nānā Sāheb attacked and took it; from this it is evident it will not be long before Hindustan is ours!!"[111]

Contemporary writings of the Christian missionaries reveal the psychological impact of the news of the sepoy mutiny on the common people. One Christian missionary wrote: "A Brahmin in Junnar went so far as to say in public, "a few days more, and the country will be cleared from such fellows as you are. Even little children who, of course, must have heard the remarks of their parents at home, cried after us in the street and threw mud at me."[112] Mrs. Dean has also referred to the similar popular attitude towards the Christian missionaries during these days. She wrote in her journal: "July 19 ... One said, Sunday will be a good time to kill the missionaries and Christians for they will be all together... We had better shoot them at prayer time, for they all shut their eyes then. They insult our people in the street and say, "The English Kingdom is at an end. Let us see if your Jesus Christ will save you. ... We are going to kill the missionaries."[113]

The atmosphere in Bombay was slightly different. In Bombay the large number of western educated men and the merchant community was apathetic to the enterprise of the mutiny leaders. Inwardly they might be sympathetic to their own brethren who had revolted against the foreign rulers. But overtly the Bombay city was loyalist. V.N. Mandlik, who rose to public eminence in the later nineteenth century was found to have made the following remark about the sepoy mutiny in a letter to his friend: "This is a mad explosion and a calamity for our nation. Under Company's Government there is scope for the improvement of our affairs, for procuring justice. With the growing contacts between England and our country high hopes about our progress were roused. But this sepoy mutiny will cause a setback, to what extent I can't imagine."[114]

But the elements of discord were not absolutely wanting in Bombay. The city was gripped with apprehension. Posters offering price for the heads of British officers and proclamations in the name of the Mugal Emperor and Nānāsāheb Peshwa, were noticed by the people on the city walls. A Bombay paper reported in the first week of August 1857 that there were ugly indications all around and that there was something up amongst the

people that was not intended for good. The paper also reported that a vague feeling of alarm seemed to have overtaken many of the European community.[115]

The Bombay Army remained loyal during those stormy days. The army was not however completely free from rebellious feelings. One Gulamar Dube had masterminded a plot for the revolt in the Bombay island. But the Bombay police nipped this plot in bud. Havaldar Sayyad Hussain and sepoy Mangal were arrested, tried and blown up by guns.[116] The tone of the Bombay Press which was largely controlled by the native Bombay businessmen, suggests that the merchant and business community of Bombay by and large had no sympathy for the mutineers. The Bombay citizens held a meeting and expressed their loyalty through a signed petition.[117]

The British power was however, retained on the basis of armed might than on public support to the regime. The public opinion was revealed to the authorities through the numerous anonymous petitions received by the Government during this period. The Collector of Ratnagiri had received an anonymous petition dated 20th August 1857, which succintly expressed the common man's opinion about the British rule. Having traced the origin of the British supremacy the petitioner

accused the British rulers of bad faith. The petitioner wrote: "At the introduction of the British Government various assurances were made for the protection of the people and encouraging proclamations were issued. But experience shows that they were entirely delusive; as not even a hundredth part of them is vouchsafed to them in practice. The recent administration is particularly impolitic and the plan pursued is to deprive every one of all power, to impoverish the people by every available means and extinguish their religion."[118] Another petition submitted by an anonymous resident of Satara complained that "respectable people whether great or poor were in great distress from want of suitable employment, as they are indebted to Sahookars. They were disgraced by the Sahookars. The Sahookars filed plaints against them and had them sent to jail and their property attached."[119]

The Marathi press displayed a cautious approach during this period. 'Dnyan Prakash' a Marathi newpaper from Poona wrote a number of articles on the theme of sepoy mutiny in the months of May and June 1857. On 18th May 1857 the paper wrote under the title "Revolt of the Bengal Native Infantry": "The sepoys are resorting to

measures which would invite their own ruin. The mutiny wouldx result in dismissal of sepoys and inflict miseries on the people". On 25th May Dnyān Prakāsh wrote: "The mutiny would soon come to an end, and the mutineers would lose their invain; uprising of the ignorant against the intelligent is worth nothing." On June, 1, the same paper wrote: "The Government should issue a proclamation to assure the people that Government would not interfere with the religious matters of the people."

On 8th June 1857 Dnyān Prakāsh reported that native states in North India were joining the rebels. The people throughout the country were wishing success to the mutineers and they longed to see the end of British rule. But the military might of the British would overwhelm the rebels and our brave sepoys would perish in vain, the paper wrote. Earlier the paper had carried an article which warned the Government that if operations of Inam Commission were not to stop, the people of Satara and Karnatak would be induced to revolt.[120]

On 12th October, Dnyān Prakāsh reported that as per public directive of the Government, the Hindus of Poona had assembled at Tulsibag and offered prayers for victory of the rulers over mutineers. Krishna Shāstri Chiplunkar,

Bhaskar Damodar Palande and other leading citizens were reported to have attended the function. Similar religious gatherings were reported from all the major cities of the Bombay presidency.

Impact On Maratha Mind

Psychological impact of the sepoy mutiny on the popular Maratha mind can be judged from a fragment of autobiographical writing of one Pāndurang Belsare of Ahmednagar district. News of the revolt of the native soldiers in the Company's army had reached Deccan in short time and it was in a spirit of adventure and as a soldier of fortune that Pāndurang Belsare with three companions started for the north. Pāndurang Belsare writes: "For a time I could not persuade my father to allow me to go to Hindusthan to seek my future. But when the news of the revolt reached us my urge to go to north, which I had been nursing for sometime past, became all the keener and I decided to take the plunge. It was my ambition to join the rebels, to make a sizeable fortune and then to return home within about a year. If by the grace of God, I told myself, the rebels establish their authority and raj all would be well and I will not be wanting." Belsare admits that the great hopes with which the party left Pathardy and the

ambition they nursed to build up a fortune were defeated during the short time they spent in the camp of Tatya Tope.[121]

Another autobiographical writing of this period also reflects the popular notion about the social objective of the sepoy rebellion. Vishnupant Godse, a Brahmin from Mahārāshtra was caught in the whirlwind of the mutiny in central India. When surrounded by the rebel sepoys, Godse confronted them with this query: "If you are fighting for the restoration of the Hindu religion, it will not augur well for the destiny of your cause if you harass a Brahman!" And he was let go by the sepoys, he tells. Vishnubhat Godse further states that he had the fore-knowledge of the impending outburst and that he did not apprehend any danger to his lifes and security as the sepoys were fighting in the name of religion.[122]

Socio-Political Significance Of The Turbulence

Shortly after the Maratha country came into British possession, a few horsemen and soldiers were stationed in the small villages in the hills. But on the plea of economising the expenditure these police

parties were withdrawn by the district officers. The hillforts which had provided employment to hill youth were also dismantled during this period. This had resulted in throwing a large number of village youth out of employment. The discontented discharged men were a good breeding ground for rural rebellion. In the hilly regions, the hardworking cultivators suffered miseries on account of the activities of the Kulkannies, Bunnias and Sahukars. The ignorant poors were overwhelmed with debts and were ruined by manipulations of money-lenders. They were often forced to fly from their homes to escape the troublesome creditors. These dispossessed elements from the rural areas of Sahyādri and Sātapuda provided the human material for the bandit bands to raise widespread disturbances that have been narrated so far. The Ramoshis, Kolis and Bhils contributed largely to the rebel ranks. But sometimes Brahmins from Poona were also found in the rebel camps.

These disturbances were of a reasonably extensive nature and only broad features of these disturbances have been narrated. In the banditry represented by the primitive societies of Mahārāshtra during this period,

two significant aspects are often interwoven. On the one hand these bandits took an air of what Hobsbawm calls social banditry i.e. the rich were robbed for the sake of the poor.[123] On the other these bandits represented the elementary form of struggle against the foreign rule. The people who flocked to the banner of the bandits looked not only for material gains but they also were moved by a vague feeling of patriotism. The wide support that these rebels received in cities like Poona, Sātārā and Wāi undelines the elementary patriotic motive involved in the activities of the bandit gangs.

The story of these rebels has been narrated on the basis of the documents left by the British officers. Most of the rebels being illiterate, none has left any documentary records about their motives and objectives. The British officers who were entrusted with the task of crushing these rebels had left their own version of their encounters with the rebel bands. The image of the rebels that emerges out of these British writings is nonetheless not unsavoury and certainly merits the attention of historians.

The rebellions of the primitives of Sahyādri and Sātapudā have been treated by the earlier scholars as

episodes involving law and order issue. The point that these bandit bands implied a primitive form of socio-political protest against the general conditions of life was missed by the scholars. The protection that these bandits received from the village folk and the tribute that they received in ballads and folkliterature of Mahārāshtra indicate the popular element represented in the bandit gangs. One fact universally noted by all British administrators was that the population hardly ever volunteered to help the authorities to catch the bandit gangs but on the contrary protectd them. The bandit gangs freely moved in the villages and the people did not regard them as criminals but political opponents of the administration.

Of all the bandits the Ramoshi rebels were the most interesting and their leader Umāji was a remarkable person of charming trails of a born leader. He inspired admiration even among his adversaries.

The resolution, secrecy and rapidity with which the Ramoshis concerted their schemes often astonished the British officers. The Ramoshis cherished the memry that their forefathers had flocked to Shivaji's banner. The sweep of the Ramoshi rebellion was described by a British officer: "The Ramoshis are coming like waves

that follow on the sea.[124]

Umāji, the Ramoshi chief conducted himself as an independent chiftain, with his own flag, holding a darbar, sending envoys to courts of Gwallior, Indore, Satara and Kolhapur. He even issued a proclamation calling upon the native rulers and watandars to rise in revolt against the British. A remarable feature of the Ramoshi bandits was that they never maltreated the villagers. The whole tendency of their measures seemed to bear upon the eradication of British influence. Another feature of the Ramoshi rebellion was the easy manner in which the rebels won over not only the common people but also the lower laddres of the village administration.

That the British power was retained on the basis of armed might than on public support to the regime was the single lesson of the great rebellion of 1857.

The secret police report on the conversations among the leading citizens of Poona in the General Native Library spoke of the deep sympathy people had for Nānāsaheb and rebels. Many of these persons were highly placed government employees and they freely indulged in the anti-British gossips.

The fate of the great rebellion of 1857 was hanging in balance when the sepoy revolt broke out in Kolhāpur. Had the entire Mahārāshtra rallied round the sepoy rebels and exercised their influence in favour of the rebellion, what would have happened to the British power in India, is anybody's guess. The Marathas hold the key to the probable line of development of the mutiny. The recorded facts show that the Marathas in the Deccan failed to rise to the occasion for want of a leadership. Anti-British sentiment in Mahārāshtra was as widespread as in the North. All elements were ripe for an uprising in Mahārāshtra except a leadership. The western educated men were inwardly hostile to the British regime. But their hostility remained passive during 1857. Beyond believing in the rumours of impending thrust of Nanasaheb into the Deccan, and raising some posters and placards for Nanasaheb's welcome, the people in the cities of Mahārāshtra did not show any initiative in the anti-British movement then sweeping North India.

Rungo Bāpuji's efforts in Satara were frustrated, the sepoy and civilian revolt in Kolhapur was localised and crushed. As a political event rebellion of 1857 proved to be a failure in Mahārāshtra as elsewhere. But the upheaval left a mark on the popular mind. The rulers as well as the people, both having learnt a lesson of history, derived their own conclusions and went ahead about their next business.

Notes

1. "Men who are soldiers, and not mere thieves, in order to rise must have a leader, a fixed object and at least some hope of success. There is no respectable jagirdar who would risk his possessions on the chance of overturning our power." Munro to Chaplin in a letter dated 23rd October 1818. Quoted by Ballhatchet: Social Policy And Social Change In Western India.P.33.

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2A. James Grant's letter to Mountstuart Elphinstone dated 14th June 1818. India office Library London. A copy in the Collection of Dr. A.R. Kulkarni, Deccan College Poona.

3. Mackintsh, Captain Alexander: Report on the Ramoshi Rebellion deposited in the Bombay Archives, Judicial Department Vol. 21/286 of 1833. Mackintosh's report was published in the same year under the title "An Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoossies." Bombay American Mission Press, 1833.

4. Policy of the Maratha rulers towards wild tribes of the Deccan has been discussed by R.N. Saletore in a research paper. "Sardesai Commemoration Volume, Bombay 1938. Pp.89-97.

5. Mackintosh P.19.

6. Ibid. Pp.27,35, 37, 39.

7. Ibid. P.56.

8. Ibid. P.125.

9. Ibid. P.128.

10. Ibid. P.129-134.

11. Ibid. P.136.

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13. B.A.: P.D.D.Vol.15/270. No.411 of the Judicial Department of 1827.

14. B.A.: P.D.D. Vol.15/270. No.406 of 1827.

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17. Mackintosh P. 138.

18. B.A.: P.D.D. Vol.15/270 of 1827. P.17.

19. Machintosh P.139.

20. B.A.:P.D.D. Vol.15/270 of 1827 No.393 of 1827, Pp-23-31.

21. Mackintosh P. 140.

22. B.A.: P.D.D. Vol.15/270 P. 38.

23. Mackintosh P. 143.

24. B.A.: P.D.D. Vol.15/270 of 1827, Pp. 12-13.

25. Mackintosh P. 142.

26. Ibid P. 152.

27. Ibid. P. 153.

28. B.A.: P.D.D.Vol.15/270 of 1827 P. 43.

29. Ibid. P. 47.

30. Mackintosh Pp. 154- 159.

31. Ibid. P. 160.

32. Ibid. P.163.

33. Ibid. P. 190.

34. Ibid. P.202.

35. Ibid. P.226.

36. Ibid. P.223-226.

37. Ibid. P.172.

38. B.A.: P.D.D. Vol.32/1150 of 1842 Pp.12-14. and Judicial Department Vol. 69-1332 of 1847, P.30.

39. B.A. : Judicial Department Vol. 62 A (1844) Pp.343-46.

40. B.A.:: J.D.Vol. 83/1849/50 Pp.144-46.

41. Ibid. Pp-161-201.

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44. Ibid. H.N. Rose's Letter to Richard Mills, dated 8th January 1839.

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Chapter VIII

Retrospect : 1818 - 1868

Forty years that intervened between 1818 and 1868 saw a metamorphosis of the people of Mahārāshtra. The change involved a multidimensional transformation. While the village in the Deccan remained moving in the bullock cart age; Bombay was practically annexed to the western world of capitalist enterprise.

A proud people whose near ancestors had fought on the battlefields, negotiated in the diplomatic chambers and had settled revenue accounts of an empire, suddenly found the gates of free political life closed against them. An official report of the year 1825 had drawn a graphic picture of the sombre consequences of the loss of freedom for the people of Poona; " The fall of the Peshwa was a great loss to Poona. Into the city had flowed large sums not only from the tributary states but also from the surrounding districts. Though Bājirao

himself was fond of hoarding his money, among his courtiers and his military officers there were many who received large sums in bribes and freely spent what they made. The stoppage of war over the whole of India closed the bankers their favourite and most profitable investments and there were no other channels into which their wealth could be turned. With the end of the gaety and richness of Bājirāo's court the demand for the rich silks and tissues of gold, which had vied with the produce of Paithan, ceased, and the dealers and weavers were impoverished. The poorer of the mustaddis - courtiers - suffered severely. Some moved to smaller towns where living was cheaper, others took to husbandry or retired to their homes in the Konkan ... In 1825 instead of its old bustle and gaiety the city presented the tameness of its poverty; the people led aimless idle lives without employment and without an object ". [1]

The people had received the British Government with perfect submission born out of the hopelessness of resistance. The British rulers, however, were aware of the turbulent character of the people. They handled the affairs of Mahārāshtra with great caution and cunning. It is an old practice of all despotic and alien rulers to use

part of the people to keep the rest in order. The British rulers resorted to that very game in dealing with the people of Mahārāshtra. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency, wanted to build a reliable base for British empire. He opted for a policy of conciliating and pacifying the socially dominant classes of Mahārāshtra.

As the first step to pacify the Maratha national sentiment the British set up Pratapsing on the throne of the newly created principality of Satara. This was a British political move to establish a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Peshwa. Elphinstone's proclamation had assured the property holders in land that their tenures would be preserved. Consequently the British preserved the privileges of the Jagirdars whose loyal attachment was much sought after during that critical period when British were having a precarious hold over the newly conquered people. Elphinstone had no high opinion about the Maratha Brahmins. But he gave highest estimation about their influence over the Maratha people. Elphinstone therefore resolved to continue the state patronage to the Maratha Brahmins through the distribution of Dakshina. His decision to found a Sanskrit College

at Poona stemmed from his concern for enlisting the Brahmin support for the new regime. The Jagirdars, the learned Brahmins, the Maratha feudal chiefs and even the chieftains of the turbulent tribals of Sahyadri and Satpuda were approached by the new rulers with great caution and understanding.

In the wake of Industrial Revolution in England a marked change had overtaken the affairs the East India Company in India. The industrial capital had captured power in England in the early nineteenth century; and it now directed the affairs of the Company. The impulse to maximise the revenue was retained by the British rulers but now the emphasis was shifted to the task of expanding the market for British goods in India.* This resulted in the Company developing stakes in the agricultural productivity of the conquered territories. Much has been made out about the impact of the utilitarian ideas on the British revenue policies. It is sometimes forgotten that British theories often closely followed the British expediencies. The dividing line between British morality and British expediency has always been very thin. The rural economy of mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra was reorganised by the British rulers to serve the long

term and larger British interests. The creation of a class of rich peasants in Western Mahārāshtra was the inevitable result of this policy. While favouring the growth of rich peasants British policies also encouraged the usurious operations of the moneylenders.

The Company's rule also ushered in the technological changes in the methods and channels of communication in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. Modern postal system, quicker and more secure artiries of transport, printing press and western education system introduced a new element that influenced the socio-political superstructure of Mahārāshtra during this period.

While the loyalty of the Jagirdars and native chiefs was secured through several engagements and treaties the three Maratha states Kolābā, Sātārā and Nāgpur were annexed to the British territories during this period. The larger population of Mahārāshtra did not react violently to these annexations as the chiefs of these native states had long ceased to function as independent powers. Pratapsing, the ruler of Satara, was an expendable element by virtue of his pitiable

dependence on the British political game. He was used as a tool by the British when their position in Mahārāshtra was precarious. He was abandoned and expelled to Benares when the British position in Mahārāshtra had been consolidated. These annexations were indicative of the reversing nature of British policy towards the princely states. Elphinstone's liberalism had no place in the changing political reality and had therefore been gradually disappearing in British dealings with the Sātārā state.

One of the significant features of this period of Maratha history was the resurgence of the primitive clans of Sahyadri and Satpuda. An uninterrupted wave of armed rebellions of the Ramoshis, Kolies and Bhils swept the British authority off their feet in the rural areas of Mahārāshtra. The disturbances in the rural areas were followed by excitement in the cities. The insurgents often drew in their ranks people from all the communities of Mahārāshtra. The Ramoshis of Purandar led by Umāji Nāik ignited the flare up of the rebellion and these disturbances finally culminated in the scattered attempts to fuse the mutinies of the sepoys with a civilian rebellion

during the years 1857 and 1858. Contrary to the prevailing view that "not a dog barked" in Mahārāshtra in 1857 the documented facts that have been narrated earlier establish beyond doubt that the history of the great rebellion would have been written differently if Nanasaheb and Tatya Tope had entered the Maratha lands during those fateful days.

The driving force of these armed rebellions were the tribal sections of the Maratha population; but even the leading Brahmins of Poona were found in the rebel bands. The leaders of these rebellions were often the dewobbed, victimised spirits who had sustained some indignity at the hands of the new rulers. None of them was jagirdar or a prince. The political motive of these rebellionss was emphasised by the British officials who suppressed these rebels. Socio-political history of the mid-19th century Mahārāshtra would have been rendered poorer if the saga of these primitive rebellions was not narrated and documented. These armed revolts ended in failure. But they set the tone of the later political agitation of the Indian people against the British imperial rule. It is not accidental that the Poona Sātārā region, which was the main theatre of these rebellions, also witnessed the rebellion of Vāsudev Balwant Phadke in the later part of the

nineteenth century. This region witnessed another armed upheaval during the "Quit India" movement in 1942.

The chief interest of this period however, lies in the activities of the new Maratha intelligentsia that had sprung up in the cities of Mahārāshtra. The aspiring movement of the intelligentsia was supported by the Bombay based business community. The merchants belonging to Parsi, Gujarathi, Konkani Muslim, Bohra and Maratha communities had acquired wealth and influence in the Bombay city in the early nineteenth century. The Bombay based Indian businessmen had developed close ties with the British business houses. The collaboration between the British capital and native merchants of Bombay led to a political unison for a considerable time. The formation of Bombay Chamber of Commerce was the joint venture of this collaboration. The European merchants were a new class of enterprising traders who differed from officials of the East India Company in political and economic beliefs and opinions. They preached the theory of free trade which clashed with the interest of the East India Company. Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, Framji Cowasjee, Mahoad Ali Roghe,

Jagannath Shanker Shet and Tyab Ali were some of the important native merchants who took keen interest in the public life of Bombay. Through their wealth they exercised a considerable influence over the people of their own communities. They played prominent part in promoting new educational and cultural institutions of the Bombay city. They were also the founders of the Bombay Association, the formation of which heralded a new era in the political life of the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra. The birth of an industrial proletariat had just been effected through the opening of textile mills and railways in the fifties. The industrial working class, therefore, was not in the picture in the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra's rapidly moving political scene.

From among the natives who were educated in English schools and colleges under the English superintendence, a new class of intelligentsia had sprung up in Mahārāshtra to which British looked for collaboration. The bulk of the Maratha intelligentsia was Brahminical in origin and it displayed a dual attitude towards the British. Psychologically it was difficult for the Brahmins to adjust themselves to the reality of foreign domination. But they were compelled to

accept the English education as the main vehicle of promotion in the new set up. But the Maratha intelligentsia could never match with its Bengali counterpart in admiring the virtues of British domination. An inner hostility to the British rule formed an essential element in the psychological make up of the Maratha intelligentsia and the Maratha people as a whole.

The first generation of the Maratha scholars who grew out of English institutions worked out new political ideas. It is precisely in the realm of ideology that the western educated generation of the mid-nineteenth century Mahārāshtra made a real break with the past. Even before Mahārāshtra could imbibe the industrial technology of Europe it displayed capacity to absorb much of the theoretical knowledge and philosophical ideas of Europe. Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar, Bhāu Mahājan, Lokahitavādi and Vishnubāvā Brahmachāri represented the awakening of the Maratha intellect during this period. Through the writing of these men the skyline of the ideological world of the Marathas underwent a change. Socially egalitarian and politically republican ideas entered the intellectual horizon of the Marathas. Economic nationalism and social reform movement were the twin products of this

intellectual ferment.

A probe into the causes of the stagnation and decay of the oriental culture became a recurring theme of the new intellectual debate. Bāl Shāstri Jāmbhekar cautioned his readers that the time had come when like every other nation they must either rise in the scale of civilization or sink in the depth of contempt and misery. Lokahitavādi explained the Indian political scene in the global context. India's servitude, its economic exploitation by the British capital, indignation against social inequality, need for liberal moral values and appreciation of western learning were some of the topics that engaged Lokahitavadi's intellectual energies.

Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth was the most consistent protagonist of economic nationalism during this period. He displayed an insight into the economic mechanism of his time. He was the first Indian thinkar to recognise the inner connection between India's poverty and the policies of the British rulers. He was the first to work out the idea that economic development consisted of rapid and allround development of the country. Rāmkrishna Vishwanāth's chief contribution to the social thinking of the Marathas during this period was his neatly developed and bold

concept that material production ultimately shape all values.

Vishnubāvā Brahmachāri was a distinct figure of this period. He had no formal education. But through self cultivation he had acquired a prestigeous position as a public figure. He conducted a one man battle with the Christian missionaries. He was a rivalist who wanted to recapitulate what he considered to be a dynamic element in the Vedic past. Through revivalist he was not reactionary. He supported the cause of social reform. He produced the first tract of utopean socialism in India.

Maratha intelligentsia and the business community of Bombay built up the first modern political association in the fifties. The formation of Bombay Association was preceded by the formation of cultural bodies like Bombay Students Literary And Scientific Society which was a cultural platform of the new Bombay Youth in fifties. Formation of The Paramhansa Sabha indicated the new intellectual ferment among the Maratha intelligentsia which was agitated over the problems of social reform.

The political organisation and agitation built up by the Bombay Association suffered from the

inherent weakness and timidity of the middle classes. The confused and timid nature of the initiative for political liberty was betrayed when an address signed by leading citizens of Bombay among whom were included Jagannāth Shanker Shet, Jamsetjee Jeejibhai and others, was submitted to the Queen on the occasion of her assuming the direct sovereignty of India. The address welcomed the assumption of Indian administration by the Government of the British Queen and assured her of their loyalty, attachment and devotion.[2]

Encouragement to native industry, patronage to indigenous products, relief to the peasantry, agitation for employment of natives in the government jobs were the slogans inscribed in the programme of the men who built the Bombay Association.

The movements that were built up and the ideas that had been worked out during this period instilled among the people of Mahārāshtra certain psychological orientations and mental attitudes which paved the way for creation of political agitation and awakening of the later day Indian nationalism.

As regards the attitude of the common Maratha people to the British rule the contemporary popular

ballad literature has given expression to their sullenness and sense of misery to which Marx had alluded. The Marathi ballads commemorate the energies and fatigue of the Maratha nation. The ballads have always enjoyed a wide circle of popularity among the broad masses of Mahārāshtra. However rude in their structure, language and rhythm these ballads embody the spirit of the Marathas.

In the ballad " Last Bājirao ", Prabhākar (1769-1843) lamented the fall of the Peshwa and decried the fate that had overtaken the Maratha nation as a result of British victory over the Peshwa. [3] Another ballad writer Parasharām (1754-1844) had composed a number of ballads on the conditions of the people under British rule, the running theme of which was that times were at sixes and sevens and everything pointed towards dismemberment of the old a world without the sign of generation of any new one. [4]

Marathi ballad, selected by D.C. Graham, a British official of this period, from the numerous popular songs of Kolhapur, that eloquently speak of the genuine Maratha fellings towards the British rule; [5] says, "

In woe I sing that evil times
Have stooped on Kolhapur
The days for trick and chiteric
Are gone for evermore !

And bankers will not lend their cash
At simple six percent;
So how can luckless knights exist
Who live beyond their rent ?

The pleasures of trade are gone
And people loudly say
That Kolhapur will soon become
As moral as Bombay.

The child can now attend a shop
Whilst men of cunning sit
Bewailing talents unemployed
And useless stores of wit !

Hark to the groans from dealer wrung
In dismal dark dispair;
A standard measure is enforced
And weights must now be fair!

No longer can the wax be used
Or stones to weigh the grain
And purchasers must have their worth
Or else they sure complain:

The village youth, arrayed with clubs
Now meet at evening close
And spend the night in watch and ward
Instead of sweet repose.

The tanks, and wells, and garden fields
Are entered in a book;
Accounts are kept of ruined walls,
Of every jungle nook:

And all lament that joy is flown,
And money very rare,
And whilst the stomach is not full
The back is getting bare:

Our chiefs are smarting under press
Of penalties and pains
For British rule enthrals the land
Her flag waves over the plains:

Her coin is current in the mart
Displaying to the eye
A human head, without a trunk
Cut deeply in the die !

The goldsmith now may leave his craft
No touchstone is required,
And the skill to test the silver ore
No longer is desired !

Traders and dealers now must work
To earn their daily bread
And quit the life of luxury
Which formerly they led !

For having conquered half the world
The English now come here
And none live happy under them
Their rule is one of fear.

And mortals suffer hungry pangs
Alas for Kolhapur!
The days for tricks and trickery
Are gone for evermore !

But listen to my words inspired-
A greater change will come
When twelve score years and seven days
Have come and passed and gone:

The Dorlee will be made of wood
And leather pass for gold
For riches will have passed away
As the tale of things of old :

For the end of all must come at last,
And the well at length run dry
And when the money flies away
All men will starve and die :

Notes

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2. Indian Speeches And Documents In British Rule-1821-1918. Edited by J.K.Majumdar, Longmans, Green, Calcutta, 1937, Pp.78-79.

3. Prabhakarkrut Kavita, Edited by S.N.Joshi, Poona 1920 Pp.69-72.

4. Parasharām Kavichya Lavanya. Edited by S.N.Joshi, Poona 1920 Pp.69-72. Marx has also referred to this loss of the old Hind world with no gain of a new one: "England has broken down the entire framework of Indian Society, without any symptoms of reconstitution yet appearing. This loss of his old world with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu, and seperates Hindustan, ruled by Britian, from all its ancient tradition and from the whole of its past history." Karl Marx: British Rule In India, New York Tribune June, 25, 1853. Included in : The First Indian War of Independence, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1962, P.16.

5. Statistical Report On The Principality of Kolhapur compiled by Grahom. D.C., Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government No.VIII, New Series, Bombay, 1854 Pp.178-80.

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